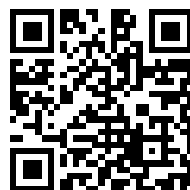


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NATIONAL MANUSCRIPTS OF IRELAND.

PARTS I and II. and III.



823

ACCOUNT  
OF  
FACSIMILES  
OF  
NATIONAL MANUSCRIPTS OF IRELAND,

SELECTED AND EDITED, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON. EDWARD SULLIVAN,  
MASTER OF THE ROLLS IN IRELAND,

BY

JOHN T. GILBERT, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.,

LATE SECRETARY OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE OF IRELAND;

AND

PHOTOZINCOGRAPHED

BY COMMAND OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA,

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY JAMES, R.E., F.R.S.,

LATE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE ORDNANCE SURVEY

*Ireland. Public record office.*  
= SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE.

LONGMAN & CO., PATERNOSTER-ROW; TRÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE-HILL.  
OXFORD: PARKER & CO. CAMBRIDGE: MACMILLAN & CO.

EDINBURGH: A. & C. BLACK.

DUBLIN: A. THOM.

1879.

*Price Two Shillings and Six Pence.*



# ACCOUNT OF FACSIMILES

## OF

# NATIONAL MANUSCRIPTS OF IRELAND.

THE want of a comprehensive Irish Palæographic series has been long felt—more especially as Ireland, though noted for letters in early times, is one of the few European countries for which a publication of this nature has not already been executed. Palæographic Series for Ireland.

The plan, designed by me, and adopted for the present work, is that it should form a comprehensive Palæographic series for Ireland and furnish characteristic specimens of the documents which have come down from each of the classes which, in past ages, formed principal elements in the population, or exercised an influence in her affairs; and that with these reproductions should be combined facsimiles of writings connected with eminent personages or transactions of importance in the annals of the country, to the end of the reign of Queen Anne. Plan of the work.

The task of planning and editing such a series imposed upon me, in addition to my special editorial labours, the selection and classification of the documents, and the assignment of its appropriate position to every specimen. Selection and Classification.

The manuscripts, extending over many centuries, are in various languages and in diverse custodies, public and private. As a preliminary step, the accessible collections in England and Ireland, containing suitable materials, were examined by me, and each document separately considered. These collections are, in some instances, unprovided with satisfactory catalogues, either printed or in manuscript, and a few of them are still kept under antiquated and restrictive regulations. MSS. in diverse custodies.

In the selection of the specimens, I have sought to combine characteristic examples of styles of writing and caligraphic ornamentation with subjects of historic and linguistic interest. The contents of each specimen are printed opposite to it, precisely line for line, and without contractions. This is intended to facilitate reference, and to aid effectively those interested in palæographic studies. Caligraphy and Ornamentation. Elucidation of specimens.

The following is an account of the manuscripts from which facsimiles are given; and as the plan of the work is to reproduce the specimens as nearly as possible in accordance with the originals, in dimensions, colouring, and present general appearance, much descriptive detail on these heads is unnecessary. Facsimiles in size and colors.

I.—Among ancient manuscripts, preserved in or connected with Ireland, which have survived to the present time, the first place, in point of age, is assigned to that contained in the antique metal case styled in Irish, DOMNACH AIRGID—the silver shrine. The Domnach Airgid MS.

The  
Domnach  
Airgid MS.

This reliquary would appear to be that which is stated, in the following extract from an old life of St. Patrick, to have been given by him to his disciple and companion, St. MacCarthen, when he placed the latter over the see of Clogher in the fifth century :—

“ Aliquantis ergo euolutis diebus Mac Caertennum, siue Caerthennum Episcopum præfecit sedi Episcopali Clocherensi ab Ardmacha regni Metropoli haud multum distante: et apud eum reliquit argenteum quoddam reliquarium *Domnach-airgidh* vulgò nuncupatum, quod viro Dei, in Hiberniam venienti, cœlitùs missum erat.”\*

The DOMNACH AIRGID was preserved as a reliquary in the neighbourhood of Clones in the county of Monaghan, its ancient locality, till deposited in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, about the year 1832.

The manuscript in the reliquary was then in four portions, the membranes of each of which had become tenaciously incorporated into an opaque solid mass. Some of the external leaves, successfully detached and expanded, were found to contain part of the first chapter of a Latin version of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, in a character not inconsistent with the age to which, on examination, the manuscript was assigned by the eminent archæologist, George Petrie, LL.D., author of a treatise on “the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland anterior to the Anglo-Norman invasion.” The view of Dr. Petrie, as communicated by him to the Royal Irish Academy, in 1838, was that “we might with tolerable certainty conclude that the Domnach is the identical reliquary given by St. Patrick to St. MacCarthen;” and that “as a manuscript copy of the Gospels, apparently of that early age, is found with it, there is every reason to believe it [the manuscript] to be that identical one for which the box was originally made.”†

“In its present state,” wrote Dr. Petrie, “this ancient remain appears to have been equally designed as a shrine for the preservation of relics and of a book; but the latter was probably its sole original use. Its form is that of an oblong box, nine inches by seven, and five inches in height. This box is composed of three distinct covers, of which the first, or inner one, is of wood—yew; the second, or middle one, of copper, plated with silver; and the third, or outer one, of silver, plated with gold. In the comparative ages of these several covers there is obviously a great difference. The first may, probably, be coeval with the manuscript which it was intended to preserve; the second, in the style of its scroll, or interlaced ornament, indicates a period between the sixth and

\* “*Vita S. Patricii*,” supposed to have been written by St. Evin, in the seventh century, and thus referred to by the translator Colgan: “*Hanc vitam damus ex tribus vetustis manuscriptis Hibernicis inter se cellatis.*” *Triadis Thaumaturgæ Acta*. Lovanii: 1637, 149, 169.

† Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, xviii. Dublin: 1838. The uses to which this reliquary was occasionally applied with the object of eliciting truthful testimony from peasants of questionable veracity were illustrated by the late William Carleton, in a tale entitled “The Donagh,” included among his “*Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*.” London: Tegg, 1876.

twelfth centuries, while the figures in relief, the ornaments, and the letters on the third, or outer cover, leave no doubt of its being the work of the fourteenth century. A tablet on the rim, and at the upper side, presents the following inscription in the Monkish character used in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries :

‘JOHNS : O KARBRI : COMORBANUS : S : TIGNACII : FMISIT.’

Or with the contractions lengthened, thus :

JOHANNES O KARBRI COMORBANUS [SUCCESSOR] SANCTI TIGHERNACII  
PERMISIT.

“Another inscription, in the same character, preserves the name of the artist by whom those embellishments on the outer case were executed, and is valuable as proving that this interesting specimen of ancient art was not of foreign manufacture. It will be found on a small moulding over one of the tablets :

‘JOHANES : O BARRDAN : FABRICAVIT.’

“The inscriptions on the external case leave no doubt that the Domnach belonged to the monastery of Clones, or see of Clogher. The John O’Karbri, the *comharb*, or successor of St. Tighernach, recorded in one of those inscriptions as the person at whose cost, or by whose permission the outer ornamental case was made, was, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, abbot of Clones, and died in the year 1353. He is properly called in that inscription *comorbanus*, or successor of Tighernach, who was the first abbot and bishop of the Church of Clones, to which place, after the death of St. MacCarthen in the year 506, he removed the see of Clogher, having erected a new church, which he dedicated to the Apostles Peter and Paul. St. Tighernach, according to all our ancient authorities, died in the year 548. The bottom, or back, of the case is ornamented with a large cross, on which there is an inscription in the Gothic or black letter. This inscription is of a later age than those already noticed, but,” added Dr. Petrie, “I am unable, from its injured state, to decipher it wholly. It concludes with the word ‘*clachhar*,’ the name of the see to which the reliquary originally appertained.”

With the object of preventing this ancient monument from passing out of Ireland, the late Hon. Henry Westenra, afterwards Baron Rossmore, became its purchaser, in 1838, at a cost of £300. The DOMNACH AIRGID was subsequently transferred by him to the Royal Irish Academy, in whose Museum it is now preserved. In the year 1874, there were found among the rocks in the Chase at Lough Fea, in the county of Monaghan, two bronze moulds, containing designs very similar in their character to the devices on the edges and borders of the case of the DOMNACH AIRGID.\*

II.—ANCIENT LATIN VERSION OF THE GOSPELS.—Portions of this manuscript have been lost, and the remainder has suffered much from decay. It is preserved unbound in a case and classed A. 4. 15. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. In a local inventory compiled about

\* “History of the County of Monaghan.” By E. P. Shirley, M.A., F.S.A., London: Pickering, 1877, p. 170.

The  
Domnach  
Airgid MS.

Ancient  
Latin  
Version of  
Gospala.

Ancient  
Latin  
Version of  
Gospels.

A.D. 1750, it is described as follows:—"Testamentum Novum Latine vetustissimum exemplar Hibernico caractere exaratum. Schedæ membranæ præ vetustate et incuria pœne absumptæ sunt."

The sequence of the Evangelists is Matthew, John, Luke, Mark—corresponding with that in the Græco-Latin codex, written early in the sixth century, and presented to the University of Cambridge by Theodore Beza. The Gospel according to St. John is followed by a page of explanation of Hebrew names, in four columns. An ornamental cross, with A and Ω at either side, is figured at the end of the Gospel according to St. Luke. The manuscript contains some interlineations in small Irish characters, faded rubric headings, and entries in the hand of the learned Ussher, archbishop of Armagh from 1624 to 1655.

From the examination, by Professor William Stubbs and the late A. W. Haddan, of readings of Latin versions of Scripture peculiar to early British or Irish writers, it would appear that while the Vulgate was known and used when Britain and South Europe were in full intercourse, it may be questionable whether it was known in Ireland towards the close of the fifth century, when such intercourse was impeded. About a century later, the Vulgate, resembling in text the "Codex Amiatinus," had penetrated into Britain, but the old Latin previously in use still held its ground. A gradually increased use of the Vulgate may be traced in Ireland in the seventh and eighth centuries, till the old Latin disappeared. A presumption also exists in favour of the existence of a special British and Irish revision of the old Latin as the version thus gradually superseded. Latin Biblical manuscripts of early Irish origin are in general characterized by orthographical peculiarities. Of these the following are the most usual, and many of them will be observed in the specimens reproduced in our "Facsimiles":—

a for e	: Alaxandri, maladictus.	e for i	: ancella, debetum.
a „ i	: sinastram.	e „ æ	: penitentia.
a „ o	: Salamon.	e omitted	: (e)ducentes.
a inserted	: Beada.	f for ph	: profeta, farissei.
ad for ap	: adprehendo.	f „ ff	: affectus.
æ „ e	: ælymosina, æpiscopus.	ff „ f	: deffero.
au „ u	: conclausus.	h omitted	: aurite.
b „ p	: babtismum, labsu.	h prefixed	: hinterrogo, hostium.
b „ v	: labaret, visitabit.	i for æ	: Arimathia.
c „ ch	: pulcritudo.	i „ e	: adoliscens, bibliothica, Herodis, Johannis (Johannes).
c „ qu	: adpropincavit, cotidie.	ie „ e	: diciens.
cc „ c	: oculus.	in „ il	: inlido.
ch „ c	: Channa.	in „ im	: immundus, implere.
eh „ h	: Abracham.	i „ y	: misterium, sinagoga.
ex „ x	: unexit, dipincxit.	i inserted	: elemosina.
e inserted	: tracho, vecho.	i omitted	: audens (audiens), dænaris.
e for a	: jecto, sepulture.	l for ll	: alatum.
e „ æ	: demonia.		
e „ æ	: Cæssar.		
e „ æ	: Belzebub.		



<i>ll</i> for <i>l</i> : camellus, ollim.	<i>s</i> for <i>z</i> : Elesens.	Ancient Latin Version of Gospels.
<i>n</i> „ <i>m</i> : inpleo.	<i>ss</i> „ <i>s</i> : caussa, essuriens, gauissi.	
<i>n</i> inserted : quadragensimus.	<i>s</i> omitted : expuo.	
<i>o</i> for <i>a</i> : colophis.	<i>t</i> for <i>d</i> : aput, illut, muntatio.	
<i>o</i> „ <i>ao</i> : Pharonis.	<i>t</i> „ <i>tt</i> : dimito, atulit.	
<i>o</i> „ <i>au</i> : clodus.	<i>ter</i> „ <i>tr</i> : ministeris (ministris).	
<i>oe</i> „ <i>e</i> : oboedio.	<i>th</i> „ <i>d</i> : ephoth.	
<i>o</i> „ <i>u</i> : centorio, monomentum, motavit.	<i>tz</i> „ <i>z</i> : babbitzo, scandalitzo.	
<i>p</i> „ <i>ð&amp;bb</i> : oproprium, sapathum.	<i>u</i> „ <i>au</i> : clusum, pludite.	
<i>ph</i> „ <i>p</i> : alaphis.	<i>u</i> „ <i>o</i> : consulare (consolare), diabulus, parabula, prumptus.	
<i>pp</i> „ <i>p</i> : repputo.	<i>u</i> inserted : anguelus, longue.	
<i>p</i> „ <i>pp</i> : Pilipi.	<i>u</i> omitted : ungentum.	
<i>p</i> omitted : temtator.	<i>v</i> for <i>b</i> : gravatum (grabatum).	
<i>q</i> for <i>c</i> : persequio.	<i>v</i> omitted : Parascues, pluia.	
<i>r</i> „ <i>rr</i> : offere.	<i>y</i> for <i>i</i> : Pylatus.	
<i>s</i> „ <i>ss</i> : asumo, audisent.	<i>z</i> „ <i>di</i> : zabulus (diabulus).	
<i>s</i> „ <i>t</i> : contensio.		

III., IV.—The PSALTER STYLED CATHACH. This is a fragment of a The Latin psalter on vellum, ascribed to the hand of St. Columba, or Colum Cathach MS. Cille, and preserved in an antique metal casket known by the Irish name of CATHACH, or “Battler.”

Columba, born in Donegal, about A.D. 521, was a member of the reigning families of Ireland and British Dalriada; and is represented to have resigned his hereditary claim to the Irish monarchy with the object of devoting himself to a religious life. While sojourning with St. Finnen, in Ulster, Columba, according to an ancient legend, borrowed his psalter, and copied it furtively in his church, with the aid of miraculous light in the night time. Finnen demanded the copy, but Columba refused to surrender it, and the matter was submitted to Diarmaid, monarch of Ireland, at Tara. Diarmaid decided that as to every cow belongs her calf, so to every book belongs its copy. Columba declared the decision to be unjust, and retained the copy. This dispute is represented to have led to a sanguinary battle, and to have been one of the causes which induced Columba to withdraw in A.D. 563 from Ireland to Iona. That island, subsequently known as Hy-Columcille, became, through the influence of himself and his successors, the centre of Christian civilization in the north of Britain,\* and the chosen burial-place of the

\* “Amid the darkness which enshrouds those missionaries who imparted to the heathen tribes of Alba [Scotland] the blessings of the Christian faith, the form of St. Columba stands out with exceptional clearness of outline; and the popular instinct has not erred which ascribes to him the largest share in the great work, and traces to his mission the most enduring results.” “*The Book of Deer.*” Edited for the Spalding Club by John Stuart, LL.D. Edinburgh: 1869.

The  
Cathach  
MS.

kings of Pictland and Scotland. Thus Shakespeare tells us that King Duncan's body was

"Carried to Colmekill,  
The sacred store-house of his predecessors,  
And guardian of their bones."

In his "History of Scotland," Dr. I. H. Burton observes:—

"Not only do we find St. Columba's own name obtaining an influence so prevalent in Scotland as to outlive the Reformation and all other ecclesiastical revolutions, but many other Irishmen, who were either followers or fellow-labourers of his, have obtained a permanent hold on Scottish local nomenclature and tradition."

Columba was universally known among the Irish as "Colum Cille," or "Colum of the Church," and he is commemorated, as one of the three patron saints of Ireland, on the 9th of June, the anniversary of his death.

The copy of the psalter called the CATHACH—from the Irish word *cath*, a battle—was preserved with veneration among Columba's kindred, the O'Donels, who ruled in the most western part of the north of Ireland, styled Tir Conaill, or "the land of Conall," from their progenitor of that name, and now known as Donegal. The hereditary custodians of the CATHACH were the MacRobartaighs, who owned lands in Donegal, which are still named from them Ballymagrorty. Marianus Scottus, the laborious writer, and founder of the Irish convent of Ratisbon, was a member of this family. At the end of his transcript of St. Paul's Epistles, finished in A.D. 1079, and now in the Imperial Library at Vienna, he has, as a gloss upon the words "Marianus Scottus," entered his Irish name, Muredach MacRobartaig, adding: "Scripsit hunc librum suis fratribus peregrinis."

The present casket or *cumdach* of the CATHACH was made by direction of Cathbarr O'Donel, head of the clan, towards the close of the eleventh century. The circumstance is recorded in Irish, still partly legible on three sides of the margin of the under silver plate of the casket, as follows:—

OROIƆ DO CATHBARR UA DOMNAILL LAS 1 NDERNAD IN CUM-  
TACH [80]  
7 DO SITRIC MAC MEIC AEDA DO RIGNE 7 DO DOM[NAILL]  
MAC ROBA  
RTAIG DO COMARBA CENANSAL LAS 1 NDERNAD.

In English, as follows:—

"Pray for Cathbarr O'Donel, for whom this casket was made; and for Sitric, son of Mac Aedha, who made it, and for Donall Mac Robartaigh, successor [of St. Columba, as abbot] of Kells, at whose house it was made."

The bearing of the CATHACH on the breast of a sinless cleric thrice round the troops of the O'Donels, before battle, would, it was thought, insure victory to them in any just cause. The Irish annalists record that in an engagement between the O'Donels and MacDermots, in 1497, the

Cathach was taken from the former, and its custodian, MacRobartaigh, The Cathach MS. slain, but that it was regained two years subsequently.

To open the CATHACH was deemed unlawful, and would, it was thought, be followed by deaths and disasters among the O'Donels. St. Cailin of Fenagh is represented as admonishing the latter to look well that the CATHACH should not come to the hands of foreigners, for, if so, it would be to the overthrow and confusion of the O'Donel tribe, and to the great honour of the strangers.

The Donegal Annalists record that MacRobartaigh, "who had the custody of the Cathach of Colum Cille," was amongst those who fell in an engagement between Aed O'Donel's cavalry and the van of the horse-host of Shane O'Neill in 1567.

Colgan, writing in 1647, alludes to the CATHACH as being then in Tir Connell or Donegal, of which he was himself a native :—

"Cæterùm S. Columba cum victo rege pacem iniri fecit, et rem totam vtrinque composuit: liber autem, qui S. Finniano perperam à rege adjudicatus, belli occasio fuit, S. Columbæ remansit, et tanquam celebrius monumentum in Tirconallia argenteo inuolucro obductus asseruatur, et *Cathach*, id est, præliator, vulgo appellatur, fertque traditio quod si circa illius patriæ exercitum, antequam hostem adorianur, tertio cum debita reuerentia circumducatur, eueniat vt victoriam reportet."

Colgan also refers to "Baile megrabhairtaich"—or the townland of MacRobartaigh—"ubi illud celebre reliquiarium S. Columbæ quod *Cathach* appellatur."

The CATHACH subsequently came into the possession of Daniel O'Donel a direct descendant of Aed, brother of Manus O'Donel, Chief of Tir Connell, for whom a biography of St. Columba had been compiled early in the sixteenth century.

Daniel O'Donel raised a regiment in Ireland for James II. Adhering to his cause, he entered service in France, after the treaty of Limerick, and was engaged in several of the important military operations of his time, including the battles at Luzzara, Cassano, Turin, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet. The rank of Brigadier in the French service was conferred on Daniel O'Donel in 1719. He repaired the casket of the CATHACH, and provided a frame-case for it, engraved with the O'Donel arms, and the following inscription :—

"IACOBO 3 M[AGNÆ] B[ITANNIÆ] REGE EXULANTE,  
DANIEL O'DONEL IN XTIANISS° IMP° PRÆFECTUS  
REI BELLICÆ HUIUSCE HÆREDITARIÏ S° COLUMBANI  
PIGNORIS VULGÓ CAAH DICTI TEGMEN ARGENTEUM VETUSTATE  
CONSUMPTUM RESTAURAVIT ANNO SALUTIS 1723."

Brigadier O'Donel died without issue in 1735, and the CATHACH remained on the Continent till transferred in 1802 to Sir Neal O'Donel, Baronet, of Newport, in the county of Mayo. His relict, Mary O'Donel, commenced proceedings in Chancery, in 1814, against Sir William Betham, Ulster King of Arms, for having, as she alleged, opened the

The  
Cathach  
MS.

CATHACH without permission. The contents, according to Betham, were found to be a wooden box, very much decayed, enclosing portion of a vellum manuscript of the Psalms, in connexion with which he gave the following details:—

"It appeared to have been originally stitched together, but the sewing had almost entirely disappeared. On one side was a thin piece of board covered with red leather, very like that with which Eastern MSS. are bound. It was so much injured by damp, as to appear almost a solid mass; by steeping it in cold water, I was enabled to separate the membranes from each other, and by pressing each separately between blotting paper, and frequently renewing the operation, at length succeeded in restoring what was not actually decayed to a legible state. . . . From the depth of the wooden box, there is no doubt that it once contained the whole psalter."

The CATHACH manuscript now consists of fifty-eight leaves of vellum, many of which at the commencement are damaged at head and foot. For some years past, it, together with its casket, was deposited in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, by its late owner, Sir Richard O'Donel, Bart., with whose permission the facsimiles of four of its pages were presented on our plates III. and IV.\* On the decease of Sir Richard O'Donel in 1878, the CATHACH was inherited by his son and successor, Sir George O'Donel, Baronet.

The Book  
of  
Durrow.

V.-VI.—The BOOK OF DURROW is an ornamented copy of the Four Gospels in Vulgate version, written across the page mainly in single column, and preceded by the epistle of St. Jerome to Pope Damasus, explanation of Hebrew names, Eusebian canons, and synoptical tables. It contains symbolical representations of the Evangelists and pages of coloured spiral, interlaced, and tessellated ornamentation. The general number of lines on a page of the text is 25 or 26. Among the capitals, Greek letters are occasionally introduced, and the peculiar red dotting and lineation occur abundantly throughout the book.

This volume acquired its name from having belonged to the monastery founded by St. Columba about A.D. 553, at Durrow, or *Dairmag*—the plain of oaks—in the central district of Ireland. Adamnan, in the seventh century, mentions the foundation of this establishment by Columba: "in mediterranea Hiberniæ parte monasterium quod Scoticiè dicitur Dair-mag.

Durrow was Columba's chief institution in Ireland, and to it and Iona Bede, in the eighth century, alluded as follows:—

"Fecerat autem [Columba] prius quam Britanniam veniret, monasterium nobile in Hibernia, quod a copia roborum Dearthach lingua Scottorum, hoc est Campus roborum, cognominatur. Ex quo utroque monasterio plurima exinde monasteria per discipulos ejus et in Britannia et in Hibernia propagata sunt."

\* Further details in connexion with this manuscript will be found in the report by the Editor of the present work in the Appendix to the Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. London; Spottiswoode: 1874, page 584.

A now partly obliterated entry in Latin on the back of fol. 12 (plate The Book of VI. No. 2) prays "remembrance of the scribe, Columba, who wrote <sup>of</sup> Durrow. this evangel in the space of twelve days."

Cummine, abbot of Iona in the seventh century, bears testimony to Columba's diligence as a scribe, and tells us that on the day preceding his death, A.D. 597, he was occupied in copying a psalter which he left to be finished by Baithene, his brother's son, who succeeded him in the abbotship. A poem, in the ancient Irish language, is extant in the Burgundian Library, Brussels, which purports to have been composed by Columba on the occasion of his quitting Durrow for the last time.

According to an old tradition, Columba gave a copy of the New Testament, in his own handwriting, to each of the churches which he founded in Ireland. A compiler of his native district, in the early part of the sixteenth century, stated that some of those manuscripts were then extant, preserved in rich shrines and piously venerated as sacred relics.

In the Donegal Martyrology, compiled towards A.D. 1620, we find a memorandum that the "Book of Colum Cille, called the Book of Durrow, a copy of the New Testament in Irish letters," was then at Durrow, in the district of the MacGeoghegans, "with gems and silver on its cover." At the foot of the verso of fol. 116 of the BOOK OF DURROW is a faded precatory entry in Irish, dated 1633, by Connell MacGeoghegan, translator of the "Annals of Clonmacnois." In the latter work, MacGeoghegan mentions that St. Columba's book at "Dorowe, in the King's County," was, like others written by that saint, believed to be impervious to water, and that he saw "the ignorant man that had the same in his custody, when sickness came on cattle, for their remedies put water on the book and suffer it to remain therein." Some of the leaves towards the end of the book are now water-stained, but the greater part is in excellent condition.

Ussher, who, early in the seventeenth century, collated the Book of DURROW, spoke of it as a most ancient manuscript—said to have been St. Columba's :—

"In Regio comitatu ea est, Durrough vulgo appellata : quæ monasterium habuit S. Columbæ nomine insigne ; inter cujus *κειμήλια* evangeliorum codex vetustissimus asservabatur, quem ipsius Columbæ fuisse monachi dictitabant."

Sir James Ware, in 1658, referred as follows to this book and to the now missing silver plates with which it was then adorned :—

"Durrough, antiquitus Dermagh, seu Campus Roboris. Sanctus Columba fundator circa annum 550 . . . Extat etiamnum (qui aservabatur olim in hoc cenobio) liber 4 Evangeliorum, ex versione D. Hieronymi, laminis argenteis ornatus, quem inscriptio præfixa manu S. Columbæ, per 12 dierum spatium exaratum refert."

The Book of DURROW was presented to Trinity College, Dublin, by its Vice-Chancellor, Henry Jones, who had been Scout-Master to Cromwell's army in Ireland, and became bishop of Meath in 1661.

O'Flaherty, a learned Irish scholar, examined this book, in 1677, and

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found by the inscription that the silver cross on its cover had been executed by order of Flan, who was king of Ireland in the first years of the tenth century. This decipherment is entered as follows on the fly-leaf of the manuscript :—

“Inscriptio Hibernicis literis incisa cruci argenteæ in operimento hujus libri in transversa crucis parte nomen artificis indicat; et in longitudine tribus lineis a sinistra et totidem dextra, ut sequitur :  
 OROIT ACUS BEN'DACHT CHOLUIMB CHILLE DO PLANTO MACC  
 MACILSECHNACILL DO RIGH ERENN LAS A N'DERNACO A CUM-  
 BACH SO.

“Hoc est Latine :

‘Oratio et benedictio S. Columbæ Kille sit Flannio filio Malachiæ regi Hiberniæ qui hanc (operimenti) structuram fieri fecit.

“Flannius hic rex Hiberniæ decessit 8. Kal. Maii et die Sabbati ut in MS. Cod. Hibernico quod Chronicon Scotorum dicitur anno æræ Christianæ vulgaris 916. Hanc inscriptionem interpretatus est Ro. Flaherty 19 Jun. 1677.”

With reference to this volume, O’Flaherty subsequently wrote :—

“I have seen hand-writings of Saint Columb, in Irish characters, as straight and as fair as any print, of above a thousand years standing, and in the College of Dublin Irish letters engraven in the time of Flan, king of Ireland, anno 916 deceased.”

Edward Lhwyd, in 1707, noticed this manuscript, but appears to have confounded it with the Book of Kells. Dr. William Nicolson, bishop of Derry, in 1724, fell into the same error, but he mentioned the inscription as then extant “on a silver cross upon the cover of this book [of Durrow] said to be Columba’s own writing, and given to the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, by Dr. Jones, bishop of Meath.”

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VII.—XVII.—THE BOOK OF KELLS is the chief Irish palæographic and artistic monument which has descended to us from the ages in which Ireland, under the name of “Scotia,” was renowned for her schools, whence religion and letters were carried to various parts of Europe.\*

This manuscript is a copy of the Gospels, and received its present name from having belonged to the Columban monastery of Cennanus, Kenlis, or Kells, in Meath. The foundation of that establishment has been ascribed to St. Columba, but it would appear not to have been of much importance till the early part of the ninth century, when the descents of the Norsemen on Iona led the community of that island to provide a place of asylum in Ireland. Under the presidency of Cellach,

\* Of the Irish in the sixth century St. Bernard wrote :—“In exteris etiam regiones, quasi inundatione facta, illa se sanctorum examina effuderunt. E quibus ad has nostras Gallicanas partes sanctus Columbanus ascendens, Luxouiense construxit monasterium.”—Vita S. Malachiæ.

“Quanta Hibernorum sub Karolingiis in Galliam multitudo venerit, testis est etiam Hericus monachus in epist. ad Karolum Calvum ap. Boll. Iul. T. VII. p. 22 : ‘Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine, paene totam cum grege philosophorum ad litora nostra migrantem? quorum quisquis peritior est ultro sibi indicit exilium, ut Salomoni sapientissimo (Karolo regi) famuletur ad votum.’ Alcuinus quoque ep. 221, ait: ‘doctissimi solebant magistri de Hibernia Britanniam, Galliam, Italiam venire. Grammatica Celtica construxit J. C. Zeuss, cura. H. Ebel. Berolini: 1871, p. 947.

twenty-fifth successor of Columba, as abbot of Iona, from A.D. 802 to A.D. 815, a "new city of Colum Cille" was constructed at Kells. This became the chief station of the Columban community, and the abbot of Kells was long known and recognised as the legitimate successor of St. Columba. The Book  
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The Irish Annalists record that, in the year 1006, "the large Gospel of Colum Cille" was sacrilegiously stolen in the night out of the great church of Kells. They add, that this book was the chief relic of the western world, on account of its singular cover, and that it was found "after forty nights and two months, after its gold had been taken from it, and with sods over it."

Transcripts of grants and agreements in the Irish language, relative to lands connected with the ecclesiastical community of Kells in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, are still extant on some pages of the BOOK OF KELLS which had been originally left blank. Specimens of these documents will be found on our Plates LIX.—LXI.

The BOOK OF KELLS is now imperfect. The surviving portion consists of 339 numbered leaves. The present much-worn first page contains the conclusion of explanation of Hebrew names. Eusebian tables, summaries, and arguments or prefaces, precede the Gospel of St. Matthew. The version of the Gospels is mainly that of the Vulgate, but with many peculiar readings.

It has been conjectured that the BOOK OF KELLS is the volume eulogised in the twelfth century by Giraldus Cambrensis as the marvellous book seen by him at Kildare, and popularly believed to have been executed under the direction of an angel. A facsimile of a page of the manuscript of Cambrensis, containing his observations on this subject and a drawing of the scribe at work, appears on plate LXVI.

The BOOK OF KELLS is mentioned as follows, in conjunction with the BOOK OF DURROW, by Ussher, bishop of Meath from 1621 to 1624, who was employed by James I. to collect the antiquities of the British Church "before and since the Christian faith was received by the English nation:"

"Ex quo, et non minoris antiquitatis altero, eidem Columbæ assignato (quem in urbe Kelles sive Kenlis dicta Midenses sacrum habent) diligenti cum editione vulgata Latina collatione facta, in nostros usus variantium lectionum binos libellos concinnavimus."

As part of Ussher's collection, the BOOK OF KELLS was transferred to Trinity College, Dublin, in 1661. In a list of the manuscripts of the College, compiled in 1688, it is entered, as follows:—

"417. 277. Quatuor Evangelia, fol. membr. cum præfixis canonibus antiquis, interpretationibus quibusdam nominum Hebraicorum, et argumentis singulorum capitum: interpositæ sunt concessiones quædam Monachis factæ, et alia nonnulla, Hibernice; cum picturis passim insertis, literisque quibusdam intertextis, miri operis et antiquitatis; Liber D. Collumkille vulgo dictus. D. 23."

With the portions now missing from the commencement and end of the BOOK OF KELLS has probably perished the record of the time and

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circumstances under which this remarkable volume was produced. It may, however, from internal evidence, be assigned to a period between the sixth and ninth centuries. Professor J. O. Westwood, of Oxford, writes as follows of it in his important work on the miniatures and ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish manuscripts:—

“Ireland may be justly proud of the Book of Kells—a volume traditionally asserted to have belonged to St. Columba, and unquestionably the most elaborately executed MS. of so early a date now in existence; far excelling, in the gigantic size of the letters at the commencement of each Gospel, the excessive minuteness of the ornamental details crowded into whole pages, the number of its very peculiar decorations, the fineness of the writing, and the endless variety of its initial capital letters, the famous Gospels of Lindisfarne, in the Cottonian Library. But this manuscript is still more valuable on account of the various pictorial representations of different scenes in the life of our Saviour, delineated in the genuine Irish style, of which several of the manuscripts of St. Gall, and a very few others, offer analogous examples. The very numerous illustrations of this volume render it a complete storehouse of artistic interest. The text itself is far more extensively decorated than in any other now existing copy of the Gospels. Not only are pages containing the commencement of each Gospel, namely, the ‘*Liber Generationis*’ (fol. 29 r.), and the ‘*Christi autem generatio*’ (fol. 34 r.), of St. Matthew, the ‘*Initium Evangelii*’ of St. Mark (fol. 132 r.), the ‘*Quoniam quidem*’ of St. Luke (fol. 188 r.), and the ‘*In principio*’ of St. John (fol. 292 r.), entirely filled with these words (the initials being of a gigantic size, and ornamented with the utmost prodigality of ornamental design); but the Eusebian Canons, occupying several pages at the beginning of the book; the commencement of the ‘*breves causæ*,’ or headings of the chapters, commencing on fol. 8 r., with the words ‘*Nativitas Christi in Bethlem Iudæ, magi munera efferunt, et infantes interficiuntur, regressio*’ (written in rows of angular and lacertine letters of different sizes, separated by highly ornamental bars); as well as various detached passages of the Passion; as ‘*Tunc dicit illis Jesus omnes*,’ fol. 114 v.; ‘*Tunc crucifixerant*,’ fol. 124 r.; ‘*Erat autem hora tertia*,’ fol. 183 r.; the end of St. Mark’s Gospel, fol. 187 v.; ‘*Jesus autem plenus*,’ fol. 203 r.; and ‘*Una autem Sabbati*,’ fol. 285 r.,—are all written of a large size, each occupying a separate page, and being beautifully decorated.”

“In the pages of the Eusebian Canons the figures of the Evangelical symbols are introduced beneath arches, in the upper part of the designs, and in the pages at the commencement of the Gospels human figures are also introduced, often in a very fantastical manner. In the pages of the ‘*Liber Generationis*’ a figure nearly half the height of the design, holding a book, occupies the bottom left-hand portion of the page. . . . Another artistic peculiarity of the ‘Book of Kells’ arises from the decoration of the initial letters of each of the sentences or verses, so that each page presents us with several of these letters, varying in size and design; as well as from the introduction of coloured representations



of men, animals, birds, horses, dogs, etc., placed without any reference to the text, but simply to fill up any vacant space at the end of a line.

The introduction of natural foliage in this MS. is another of its great peculiarities; whilst the intricate intertwinings of the branches is eminently characteristic of the Celtic spirit, which compelled even the human figure to submit to the most impossible contortions."

Some of the human figures depicted in the BOOK OF KELLS have been engraved in Sir William Wilde's Descriptive Catalogue of the Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. In that work will also be seen illustrations of interlaced and spiral ornamentations, similar to those in the BOOK OF KELLS, carved on bones found in a *crannog*, or ancient lacustrine habitation, in Meath. Spatulæ of bone with similar carvings have likewise been found in tumuli in the same county.

The representations given in our "Facsimiles" afford specimens of many of the different styles of writing in the BOOK OF KELLS. On fol. 19 (Plate VIII.), we find examples of the somewhat complicated manner in which the Irish scribes, in order to economize space, carried portions of long lines from below to fill blanks at the ends of shorter ones above. Words thus transposed were separated from the concluding paragraph by a symbol known as "head under the wing," in Irish *ceann fa eite*, or "turn under the path," in Irish *cor fa cosan*. The forms of these symbols were various, but those most generally used resembled inverted c's facing each other. The symbol of this class in the Irish manuscript at Turin is noticed as follows by Nigra:—"Sighum ∞ indicat sequentia verba usque ad finem lineæ legenda esse post lineam inferiorem, e. gr.

‘∞ serti erant a spiritu dei sicut do

In deserto hautem fit et nox et clamor quia di  
mus vacans.’

“Quod legendum est:

‘In deserto autem fit et vox et clamor quia deserti erant a spiritu dei sicut domus vacans.’

“Hæc autem scriptio obtinet quum, exacta capituli periodo anteriore, mansit utile spatium in linea.”

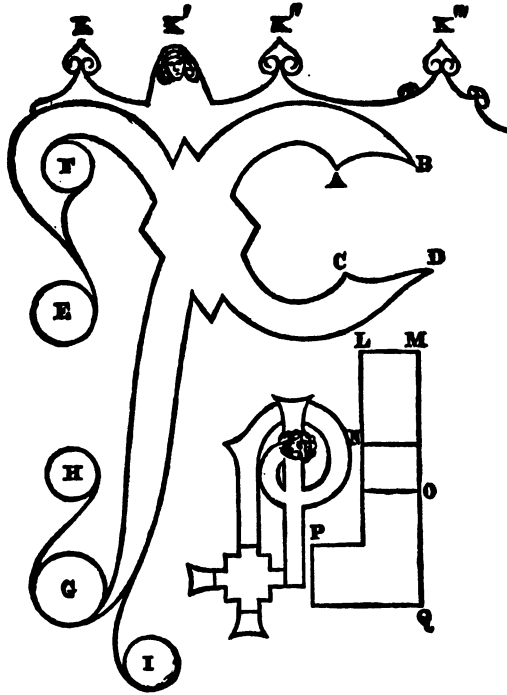
In our "Facsimiles," these symbols are indicated in the letter-press by a short upright bar.

The most elegant of the large initial pages in the BOOK OF KELLS is perhaps, that represented on our plate VII., embodying the passage "XPI (Christi) autem generatio"—"Now the generation of Christ."—Matthew, i. 18. This page was described as follows in the "Vetusta Monumenta" of the Society of Antiquaries of London, by the late Rev. J. H. Todd, D.D., in connexion with a lithograph of it from a copy made by Miss Stokes, of Dublin:

"The first letter, which is the Greek X, is given, not as the St. Andrew's Cross, formed by two right lines intersecting at an angle of 45°, but on the basis of two curved lines, resembling the long form of the letter S inverted, and one of them much longer than the other.

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"At each end of the upper part of this letter there are six points, two to each termination, owing to the breadth of its two branches. These points I have marked A, B, C, D, E, F; and in like manner at the extremities of the lower branch of the letter are three points or terminations of the curves, marked G, H, I.

"At each of these points the artist has placed a circle formed by the winding round of spiral lines, and within these circles, sometimes three, sometimes four, and even more circles, as at E and G, formed in like manner of spiral lines, and ornamented with various forms of Celtic pattern. On the upper line, over this predominant letter, the ornamentation rises in four points nearly in a right line, which is probably intended to represent the usual mark of contraction, placed over the contracted word  $XPI$  [Christi.] These points K, K', K'', K''', are decorated with the spiral circles, according to what is known as the trumpet-pattern, of which every part of this page presents beautiful and minute specimens. The second of the four above mentioned points marked K', which is much larger and more prominent than the rest, exhibits the face of a beardless man (or more probably of a woman) the head bare, the hair terminating on each side with spiral locks or ringlets.

"The space between the circles F and H is filled with three figures, which seem intended to represent angels. Two of these, under the circle E, are lying upon the ground, supporting their bodies in an erect posture, one on the left and the other on the right elbow. Each has a book, one in the right, and the other in the left hand; and in the other hands an

instrument, which is somewhat obscure from the difficulties the artist had to contend with, owing to want of room, and the awkward position of the figures, but it is probably the *flabellum*. The arms of the hands holding this instrument are crossed, the left arm of the first figure being under the right arm of the second. The third angel, between E and F, is in an erect posture, his legs concealed under the framework of ornament. He holds a flabellum in each hand, the staves or handles of which seem interlaced with his wings. In the space under the smaller circle F is a figure which is perhaps intended to represent a butterfly with wings elongated to adapt them to the shape of the space so filled.

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"At the intersection of the two principal curved arms of the monogram is a rhombus, in a purple frame, filled with the small spirals. Around this is a polygonal space, occupied by four monstrous serpentine figures, with human heads, in each of the four principal angles of the polygon, the serpent bodies being interlaced in a wonderful complication, and ending apparently in heads of serpents. Each of these figures has an arm and a hand which grasps a serpent's body. At the four angles of the polygon, over the four human heads, are four rhomboidal or nearly square spaces, filled with very elegant spirals, formed of right lines in squares, on a white ground. Similar spaces filled with rectilinear spirals of a different pattern, the lines white on a black ground, may be seen at the extremity of the upper and lower vertical diameters of the circles at A and C. The space between the circles A, B, C, D, is filled with curiously varied spirals of the most minute execution, chiefly of the trumpet-pattern. About half-way down the elongated limb of the monogram is a square space filled with yellow stars, of seven rays, on a dark purple ground.

"In the space over the circle I are two curious animals resembling some kind of beaver. The body of that on the left hand is brown and striped; the head bare, resembling human flesh in colour, and with short horns or ears. The body of the other is white, shaded with carefully-drawn black lines, which mark out the forms of the muscles. The face and feet are flesh-coloured, with horns or ears on the head, similar to those in the other figure. Each animal has one of its young ones seated on its back, whilst two other young ones are represented before them on the ground, and are nibbling at a circular cake or wafer, divided into four by a cross. In the white space in the lower margin, immediately under the letter P or R of the monogram, is an animal with a black body and tail resembling an otter, and holding a fish in its mouth by the middle.

"It remains now to describe the last two letters of the monogram, which will be found in the space between the circles I and D. The first of these is the Greek letter P, the upper part of which is made to turn over like a shepherd's crook, and the second letter, I, passes through and behind the curved head of the crook. On the extremity of this curved part of the letter is a bearded human head, with bushy hair, characteristic of Irish costume. No hands, arms, or any part of the body are visible. At the base of this letter is a singular cross (possibly intended

B

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to represent the mark of contraction); it is formed by two narrow parallelograms intersecting a square at right angles, and bordered by an outer yellow band, with an inner narrower band, white with red spots. The body of the cross thus formed is filled with parallel lines, intersecting at right angles, and joined at their extremities by semicircular or triangular junctions. These lines are white on a black ground. A similar square, NO, ornamented in the same way, occurs in the space LMQP, which remained between the letters and the outer margin of the drawing. This space is surrounded by the same double frame, brown and violet or purple, which encloses the whole of the first letter of the monogram. Within the rectangle LMN, which stands above the square, the artist has portrayed four human figures, two with their heads uppermost in the position of nature, and two reversed; they are all seated, each pair having their arms and legs interlaced. They are beardless, with the usual matted head of hair, with long ringlets knotted together.

"The lower portion of this space, consisting of two parallelograms at right angles to each other at their lower ends, is filled with intertwined serpents, amongst which in the lower horizontal parallelogram are two birds resembling in shape peacocks, the bodies, one white the other yellow, covered with red spots, and the necks red, but having no tails, crests, or other characteristics of the peacock. . . . It may be observed that the page before us contains almost all the varieties of design to be found in Celtic art. These are usually spoken of as twofold; first arbitrary or geometrical—of which there occur on the page before us the divergent pattern, known as the trumpet pattern, the triquetra, the interlaced curved bands, the knot, and the designs formed of right lines; secondly, patterns derived from natural forms—foliage, birds, reptiles, fish, quadrupeds, imaginary or monstrous animals, and man."

In reference to this page, the editors of the publications of the Palæographical Society of London observe that it has been well represented in colours in our "Facsimiles," (Plate VII.), and they add the following remarks in connexion with it:—

"The prevailing colours of this plate are yellow and violet. The large X is formed of broad bands of violet, edged on the outer side with a strongly marked line of black, and on the inner side with one of gamboge. The lozenge in the centre is white, with a violet border; the bands forming the outlines of the P I are scarlet edged with a line of black, and the band of the cruciform pattern within the cross-shaped foot of the P is yellow. Of the corner-piece on the right the frame is violet, with gamboge borders for the inner compartments. The twisted lacertine animals are generally blue, red, violet, yellow, and green; the spiral designs, red, yellow, and violet; and the minute interlaced patterns, black and white."

In the same publication, the page containing a painting of the Virgin and Child, preceding the "Breues Causæ" at the beginning of the volume, is noticed as follows:—

"The Virgin wears an upper robe of a deep lake colour relieved with

white dots and having a yellow border; the under robe is lilac. The head-dress is yellow shaded with red. The nimbus has an outer circle, coloured sienna, set with yellow spots; the interior is filled with pale lake, and has three yellow crosses disposed round the head. The Child has a robe of green over a tunic of yellow, relieved with red spots. He has no nimbus. The angels wear robes of green, lake, blue, and yellow. Their wings are violet, terminating in long feathers of green and blue. The features of all the faces are drawn in black and red, and the eyes are violet. The frame of the chair on which the Virgin is seated is chiefly yellow, and the lower part is filled with a cruciform pattern. The frame of interlaced lacertine animals is of various colours. The signification of the group of six heads introduced into the right side of the frame is uncertain."

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The version on fol. 124 recto—"Tunc crucifixerant," Matthew, xxvii. 38 (Plate XI.)—appears to be peculiar to this manuscript. The want of grammatical accordance in the continuation of the text on the next page is also to be found in the Book of Durrow and the Book of Armagh, in both of which the reading is "crucifixerunt," agreeing with the Colbertine "versio antiqua." Some of the letters on this and other ornamental pages resemble in form those in the Irish manuscripts at St. Gall and in the Gospels of MacRegol, and the characters engraved on the ancient silver chalice found in 1868 at Ardagh, in the county of Limerick.

Mr. Waring, one of the editors of the Lindisfarne manuscript, the date of which is about A.D. 700, observes that, with the exception of the **BOOK OF KELLS**, it is the most elaborate and beautiful specimen extant of the style of ornament which distinguishes the Celtic or early Irish school. The characteristics of the latter are described by Professor Westwood as consisting—

"First, in one or more ribbons diagonally but symmetrically interlaced, forming an endless variety of patterns; 2nd, one, two, or three slender spiral lines coiling one within another till they meet in the centre of the circle, their opposite ends going off to other circles; 3rd, a vast variety of lacertine animals and birds, hideously attenuated and coiled one within another, their tails, tongues, and top-knots forming long, narrow ribbons, irregularly interlaced; 4th, a series of diagonal lines, forming various kinds of Chinese-like patterns. These ornaments are generally introduced into small compartments, a number of which are arranged so as to form the large initial letters and borders, or tessellated pages, with which the finest manuscripts are decorated."

"Especially deserving of notice," continues Professor Westwood, "is the extreme delicacy and wonderful precision, united with an extraordinary minuteness of detail, with which many of these ancient manuscripts were ornamented. I have examined with a magnifying-glass the pages of the Gospels of Lindisfarne and Book of Kells, for hours together, without ever detecting a false line or an irregular interlacement; and when it is considered that many of these details consist of spiral lines, and are so minute as to be impossible to have been executed without a

**The Book of Kells.** pair of compasses, it really seems a problem not only with what eyes, but also with what instruments they could have been executed. One instance of the minuteness of these details will suffice to give an idea of this peculiarity. I have counted in a small space, measuring scarcely three quarters of an inch by less than half an inch in width, in the Book of Armagh, not fewer than one hundred and fifty-eight interlacements of a slender ribbon-pattern, formed of white lines edged by black ones, upon a black ground."

An alphabet composed of ornamental letters from various parts of the BOOK of KELLS, as well as a series of conjoined letters of a similar class, will be found reproduced in colours, on plates XIII.-XVII.

The elaborate ornamental piece, embodying the Evangelistic symbols, and forming the head to a columnar page of Eusebian Canons, appears on the title-page of our first part.

The writing in the body of the BOOK OF KELLS is mainly in single column across the entire page, while that of the Book of Lindisfarne is in double column and in smaller character. The portions of the BOOK OF KELLS in double columns are 26 r<sup>o</sup>, 26 v<sup>o</sup> and 29 v<sup>o</sup> to 31 r. The inks used in the manuscript were black, red, purple, and yellow. The letters principally introduced on the ornamented pages are in general either lacertine or square; rotund characters, however, appear on the verso of page 187. The number of lines on the pages of the Gospels is in general not more than 19, nor less than 17. In the preliminary portion of the volume, the number of lines is from 13 to 19 per page. On the pages numbered from 22 to 25, we find peculiar semi-cursive writing, resembling some of that in the Book of Armagh and in the Irish manuscripts at Milan and St. Gall. The writing is much faded on some pages, and on others the ornamentation has suffered.

The two closing lines on the recto of the last leaf (339) are those of the Gospel of John, chap. xvii. 6: "Aput te manifestum nomen tuum hominibus quos dedisti mihi de mundo." Half of the reverse of this final leaf is nearly faded. The last words legible on it are in the twelfth line from the head: "Pater sancte" (John, chap. xvii. 11).

The monastery of Kells was surrendered to the crown, in 1539, by Richard Plunket, its last abbot. The BOOK OF KELLS soon afterwards appears to have come into the hands of Gerald Plunket of Dublin, who marked on the margins the numbers of the several chapters. At the foot of the front of the penultimate leaf, Plunket wrote: "There lacketh in this end of the book iiii. chapt. . . . being in number addit xiii. leaves that lacketh."

The following inscription, in a minute hand, is still partly legible in a small semicircular space at the head of the columns on fol. 4 v<sup>o</sup>.

"This worke doth passe all mens conyng that now doth live in any place.

I doubt not there . . . anything but that the writer hath obtained God's grace.—G.P."

On the verso of fol. 344 is the following entry:—

"I, GERALDE Plunket of Dublin, wrot the contents of every chapter; I

meane where every chapter doth begyn. 1568. The boke contaynes tow hundredth v. & iii. leaves at this present xxvii. August, 1568." The Book  
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Under this is written by Ussher, who was Bishop of Meath from 1621 to 1624: "August 24, 1621. I reckoned the leaves of this booke and found them to be in number 344. He who reckoned before me counted six score to the hundred. Ja. Ussher, [Episcopus] Midensis elect[us]."

It is to be deplored that the BOOK OF KELLS suffered much from having been cut down, when it was re-bound in modern style, in the early part of the present century.

On a vellum leaf in front of the volume the following Royal autographs are inscribed:—"Victoria R., August 7, 1849. Albert, August 7, 1849. Alfred, 23rd August, 1861."

XVIII., XIX.—The BOOK OF DIMMA contains the Four Gospels, with Latin ritual and prayers for visitation of the sick. A coloured figure of each of the three first Evangelists precedes his Gospel, and the symbol represented in plate, XIX. is prefixed to the opening of the Gospel according to St. John. The name of the scribe appears at the conclusion of each of the Gospels. On the fractured final page of the volume, at the termination of St. John's Gospel, after the words "Finit, amen—Dimma Mac Nathi,"—are two imperfect and very archaic Irish lines, in which the writer prays that, as the reward of his labour, he may "not be venomously criticised," and that he may attain to "a mansion in the heavens." Of Dimma Mac Nathi no particulars appear to be on record which might enable us to identify him with a skilful scribe, named Dimma, who is mentioned in a legend connected with a copy of the Gospels made in the seventh century for Saint Cronan of Roscrea, in Tipperary. Dimma, it is said, applied himself continuously during forty days and forty nights to the transcription, and at the conclusion was unconscious that it had occupied more than the one day to which he had limited his engagement with Cronan. This scribe has been assumed to be Dimanus, subsequently bishop of Connor, whose name, with that of Cronan, appears in the letter addressed to Ireland by Pope John IV., A.D. 634, concerning Pelagianism. Somewhat later in that century, according to Bede, a missionary from Ireland, named Dimma, became the first bishop of the midland Angles and Mercians. Book  
of  
Dimma.

Several ecclesiastics named Dimma appear in old Irish lists of native saints. The name still survives in a parish in the north of the county of Limerick, styled Kildimo (*Cille Dimmu*) from a parish church there under the patronage of a local Saint Dimma. The BOOK OF DIMMA, now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, is stated to have been long preserved in the monastery of Roscrea in a silver case. Of this a portion still remains, engraved with ornamentation of similar style to that in the MS., and bearing an inscription, from which we learn that the case was gilt by order of O'Carrol, Lord of Ely, in the twelfth century, and repaired about a hundred years subsequently by a bishop of Killaloe.

Book  
of  
Mulling.

XX.-XXI.—THE BOOK OF MULLING. Mulling or Moling, to whom this manuscript is ascribed, was in the seventh century bishop of Ferns, in Leinster, of the ruling clan in which district he was a member. He is represented to have taken a prominent part in Irish affairs, and to have obtained from Finacta, King of Ireland, the remission of the tribute styled *Borama*, previously levied from the Leinstermen, an account of which is given in connexion with plate LIV. of our "Facsimiles."

Mulling died in A.D. 697, and was regarded, especially in Leinster, as one of the principal saints of Ireland, where his festival was observed on the 17th of June. Predictions ascribed to Mulling are referred to in the twelfth century by Cambrensis, who classed him, as a prophet, with Merlin, and as a saint, with Patrick and Columba.

His name still survives in that of the town of St. Mullins, in the county of Carlow, so called from the church which he founded at *Teach Moling* in its vicinity.

The BOOK OF MULLING is a copy of the Four Gospels, with formulary for visitation of the sick, and figures of three of the Evangelists, one of which is represented on plate XX. No. 1. The manuscript is unbound, unpagged, and in a damaged state. With some leaves of another old copy of the Gospels, and cognate matter, it is preserved in an antique metal case, ornamented with crystals.

A colophon in semi-Greek characters—somewhat similar to but larger than those in this manuscript (Plate XXI., No. 2)—is to be found in the Irish copy of Adamnan's Life of Columba, transcribed in the eighth century, and now extant at Schaffhausen. Some lines of an Irish poem connected with Mulling were found by the late F. J. Mone, Director of the Archives at Carlsruhe, in a manuscript of the monastery of St. Paul in Carinthia. It had been brought to Carinthia from the monastery at Reichenau, near Constance, a resort of Irish monks in the eighth and ninth centuries. Mulling's book and its ancient case were of old looked upon with much veneration in Leinster. They were preserved in the custody of the family of Kavanagh, of the ancient regal line of that province, and native lords of the district named from them "Kavanaghs' country," over which their kinsman, Mulling, had been bishop. Mulling's book and its case are now preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, where they were deposited in the last century by the Kavanagh family of Borris, in the county of Carlow.

Gospels  
of  
Mac Regol.

XXII.-XXIII.-XXIV.—THE GOSPELS OF MAC REGOL. This is the largest sized of the old Irish Gospel-books. It contains the four Gospels, decorated with coloured and ornamental letters and with figures of Mark, Luke, and John. Each of these occupies an entire page; a page of large ornamental letters is also devoted to the opening portion of each Gospel. On plate XXII. is reproduced one of these pages containing the commencement of the Gospel of St. John. An interlinear



Saxon version, of later age than the text, is carried through all the pages with the exception of that represented in plate XXII. The artistic work and colouring in the GOSPELS OF MAC REGOL is less elegant than that in the Book of Kells; and various inaccuracies of transcription are apparent throughout the text. Gospels  
of  
Mac Regol.

The Irish Annalists record the decease, in the year 820, of Mac Regol, or Mac Riagail, grandson of Maglena, scribe, bishop, and abbot of Birra, now known as Birr, in the central part of Ireland. This monastery was founded in the sixth century by Brendan, a contemporary and friend of Columba.

But for the survival of the final page, represented on plate XXIV., there would probably have been no means of ascertaining by whom this manuscript had been written and ornamented. The entry, "Mac Regol dipinxit," is analogous to that in the Irish copy of Priscian at St. Gall, in which we read, "hucusque calvus Patricii (Maelpatric) depinxit."\* Mac Regol's manuscript was presented, in the seventeenth century, to the Bodleian Library by John Rushworth, Deputy Clerk of the Long Parliament, and from him it has been styled "Rushworthianus." The learned Humphrey Wanley entertained a high opinion of the value of this manuscript, which he mentions was supposed by some to have belonged to Venerable Bede. Not being acquainted with any particulars concerning the scribe, Wanley considered the volume to have been written before the middle of the eighth century.

The Saxon interlinear version of the manuscript, together with a collation of the Latin text, was, for the first time, printed under the editorship of the Rev. Joseph Stevenson and Mr. George Waring, in 1854-1865.

XXV.-XXIX.—The BOOK OF ARMAGH is now defective at the commencement. Its first surviving portion is occupied with notes in Latin and Irish on St. Patrick's acts; a collection styled "*Liber Anguli*," relating to the rights and prerogatives of the See of Armagh; and the Confession of St. Patrick. These are followed by St. Jerome's letter to Damasus, Eusebian canons, and preface to the New Testament; interpretation of Hebrew names; Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; Epistles of St. Paul, including that to the Laodiceans, with prefaces, chiefly by Pelagius; Epistles of James, Peter, John, and Jude; Apocalypse; Acts of Apostles; and Life of St. Martin of Tours by Sulpicius Severus. It also contains four uncoloured drawings of the evangelistic symbols, and of these one page, in four compartments, is reproduced on plate XXVIII. The writing is mainly in double column, and the headings through most of the Gospels are partly in Greek characters. A colophon of four Latin lines, in Greek letters, appears in the first column of the verso of fol. 221, with which the volume ends. After Book  
of  
Armagh.

\* "Il nome calvus patricii è la traduzione latina di Maelpatric (servus Patricii); e calvus corrisponde a servus, essendo la tonsura segno di schiavitù. E noto il verso di Properzio (4, 11, 38); 'sub quorum titulis Africa tonsa jaces,' h.e. captiva."—*Reliquie Celtiche raccolte da Constantino Nigra*. Firenze: 1872, p. 19,

Book  
of  
Armagh.

page 104, the capital letters are coloured slightly in black, yellow, green, and red. Some of the pages are much rubbed, as if frequently exposed or touched, probably for the purpose of swearing.

The name of the scribe of the **BOOK OF ARMAGH** was ascertained in recent times by the Rev. Charles Graves, now bishop of Limerick. Having noticed ancient and elaborate erasures on some of its pages, he conceived that matter connected with the history of the book might be recovered through a careful examination of them. Under these erasures were found vestiges of entries, in which Ferdomnach, in the customary manner of ancient Irish transcribers, entered his name, and requested a prayer from the reader. The only scribes named Ferdomnach mentioned in Irish records are two, who died at Armagh in A.D. 726, and A.D. 844, respectively. The latter was characterized as a wise man and a distinguished scribe. That he wrote the first part of the **BOOK OF ARMAGH** in A.D. 807 is assumed mainly on the following grounds:—

At the end of the Gospel of St. Matthew, the scribe records, in semi-Greek characters, that he finished the writing of this Gospel on the festival of that Apostle. That this was in A.D. 807, the single year during which Torbach held the bishopric of Armagh, is inferred from a fragment—*bach*—of the name of “the successor of Patrick” brought to light from under another ancient erasure. Torbach was the only bishop of the see whose name terminated with those letters during the time of any known scribe styled Ferdomnach.

The collections concerning St. Patrick, in the first part of the **BOOK OF ARMAGH**, constitute the oldest writings now extant in connexion with him, and are also the most ancient specimens known of narrative composition in Irish and Hiberno-Latin. They purport to have been originally taken down by Bishop Tirechan from Ultan, who was bishop of Ardbraccan towards A.D. 650, and by Muirchu Maccu Machteni, at the request of his preceptor, Aed, bishop of Sletty, in the same century.

Specimens of these very obscure compositions appear on plates XXV. XXVI., and XXVII. The references on the latter to the Scotie or Irish language may be regarded as analogous to the following passages in Adamnan's preface to his Life of Saint Columba, written in the seventh century:

“Beati nostri Patroni, Christo suffragante, vitam descripturus, fratrum flagitationibus obsecundare volens, in primis eandem lecturos quosque admonere procurabo ut fidem dictis adhibeant compertis, et res magis quam verba perpendant, quæ, ut æstimo, inculta et vilia esse videntur; meminerintque regnum Dei non in eloquentiæ exuberantia, sed in fidei florulentia constare; et nec ob aliqua Scoticiæ, vilis videlicet linguæ, aut humana onomata, aut gentium, obscura locorumve vocabula, quæ, ut puto, inter alias exterarum gentium diversas vilesunt linguas, utilium, et non sine divina opitulatione gestarum, despiciant rerum pronuntiationem.”

On fol. 36 (Plate XXVIII.) will be observed the reading, in the Lord's Prayer, “ne patiaris nos induci in temptationem.” The Greek charac-

ters on this and other pages of the BOOK OF ARMAGH are interesting literary relics of the ninth century, in which Joannes Erigena appears to have acquired in Ireland a knowledge of the then little studied Greek language. This enabled him to translate for western Europe the Greek writings attributed to Dionysius Areiopageita, which gave an impulse to the study of mystic and scholastic theology.

Book  
of  
Armagh.

Among the native Irish, the BOOK OF ARMAGH appears to have been known as "the Canon of Patrick." The Irish annalists record that the "Canon of Patrick" was encased, in A.D. 937, by Donogh, son of Flan, king of Ireland.

At foot of fol. 16 v<sup>o</sup> (Plate XXV.) is an entry purporting to have been made in presence of Brian Borumha, "Imperator of the Scots." This is considered to have been written about A.D. 1002, when Brian, after having subjected Ulster, made an offering of twenty ounces of gold on the altar of Armagh.

The Irish word *trogan*, meaning "wretch," appears opposite to the name of Judas on folio 38; and on the margin of the thirteenth chapter of Mark the name Cellach is written in semi-Greek characters. This is conjectured to refer to the abbot, Cellach, who undertook the monastery of Kells, in A.D. 807, after Iona had been devastated and many of the Columban community there slain by the Norsemen. To these sufferings it is supposed the description, in this chapter, of the miseries of the destruction of Jerusalem may have been deemed applicable.

A remarkable specimen of the skill of the scribe appears on fol. 103 recto (Plate XXIX.), the central portion of which is written in the shape of a rhombus, in semi-cursive letters somewhat similar in form to larger characters of this class in parts of the Book of Kells.

Pope Gregory, from whose "Moralia" extracts appear on the same page, was, from this once widely studied work, named "Gregorius moralium" by old Irish writers, some of whom laboured to show that he was of Hibernian descent. The designation given to him in Irish of *bel oir*, "of the golden mouth," is referred to, in A.D. 634, by Cummin, in his letter to Segienus, abbot of Iona, on the Paschal controversy:

"Quid plura? Ad Gregorii Papæ urbis Romæ (a nobis in commune suscepti et oris aurei appellatione donati) verba me converti."

The entire text of the "Confession" of St. Patrick, as extant in the BOOK OF ARMAGH will be found printed in our Appendix III A. It would seem that the BOOK OF ARMAGH was formerly supposed to have been written by St. Patrick's own hand, from the passage on page 21 at the end of this "Confession:"—"Hucusque volumen quod Patricius manu conscripsit sua."

The BOOK OF ARMAGH is conjectured to be the book alluded to by St. Bernard in the twelfth century, as being then regarded as one of the insignia of the primatial see of Ireland, and oaths and covenants appear to have been frequently ratified on it. The hereditary custodian of the book was styled in Irish *maor*, or keeper, and held an endowment

Book  
of  
Armagh.

of land in virtue of his office. His descendants were known by the name of *Meic Maoir*—sons of the keeper—or Mac Moyre.

Ussher, in 1639, published extracts from the BOOK OF ARMAGH. Sir James Ware in his edition of the Confession of St. Patrick, in 1656, wrote as follows of this manuscript:—

“Codex ecclesiæ Armachanæ suprâ memoratus continet, præter confessionem S. Patricii, Biblia Sacra, è versione D. Hieronymi, et antiquissimum exemplar Sulpitii Severi de vita S. Martini episcopi Turonensis, tantûque olim habebatur in pretio, ut familia Mac Moyeriana tenuerit terras à sede Armachana, ob salvam illius codicis custodiam. Magnam hanc libro venerationem præcipuè conciliavit vulgaris opinio manu ipsius Sancti Patricii illum fuisse exaratum. Et certè ad calcem Confessionis ejus hæc verba leguntur: Hucusque volumen quod Patricius manu conscripsit sua. Deinde; Septima decima Martii die transatus est Patricius ad cælos. Ex characteris tamen genere, satis liquet non autographum esse, sed longè posteriori ævo transcriptum.”

On the reverse of the 104th leaf of the BOOK OF ARMAGH, with the date 1662, appears the autograph of Florentinus or Florence Moyre, the last of that family who had custody of the BOOK OF ARMAGH. Florence and John Moyre appeared, in 1681, at London, at the trial of Oliver Plunket, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Armagh. They, with others, asserted on oath that Plunket had been engaged in soliciting foreign powers to invade Ireland. On their testimony, he was found guilty of high treason and executed at Tyburn in 1681, having declared that the witnesses against him were “merciless perjurers” who “aimed at his life.” Florence Moyre, before he went to London in 1680, placed the book in pledge for five pounds, and it appears soon after to have been acquired, with its ancient leather case, by Arthur Brownlow, of Armagh, who arranged and numbered the leaves. The manuscript was somewhat later examined for Edward Lhwyd, and he, it would appear, considered it to be very ancient, though not of the age of St. Patrick. The BOOK OF ARMAGH remained in possession of the Brownlow family till purchased in 1853 by the Rev. William Reeves, D.D., who subsequently transferred it to the late Primate Beresford, by whom it was presented to the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. An edition of the BOOK OF ARMAGH is in preparation by Dr. Reeves, and I take this opportunity of acknowledging my obligations to him for his assistance in connexion with the specimens given from it and other biblical manuscripts in these “Facsimiles.”

MS.  
of  
MacDurnan.

XXX., XXXI.—MANUSCRIPT OF MÆLBRIGHT MAC DURNAN.—Mælbrighte Mac Durnan, Mac Dornain, or Mac Tornain, was of the race of St. Columba, and succeeded him as nineteenth abbot of Iona in A.D. 891. He also became abbot of Armagh and Raphoe. We find him, in A.D. 889, intervening vigorously in a contention at Armagh between some of the chief Ulster septs; and he is recorded to have made a journey to

Munster, in A.D. 908, for the object of ransoming some Britons who had fled from England to escape the Danes. He appears as a saint in native Irish calendars, and his death, in A.D. 927, is recorded as follows by the annalists of his own district :—

“Mælbrihte, son of Tornan, successor of Patrick, Columcille, and Adamnan, head of the piety of all Erin and of the greater part of Europe, died in a good old age, on the 22nd of February.”

Mælbrihte—literally the servant or devotee of Brigit—was a name in use among the Irish from the seventh century, and has been Latinized “Calvus Brigitæ,” “Brigidianus,” and “Marianus.” Brigit, abbess of Kildare in the sixth century, one of the three chief saints of Ireland, was panegyricized as the glory of the Irish—“Scotorum gloria”—their head abbess and protectress.

Frequent appeals to Brigit were in the eighth and ninth centuries entered by Irish transcribers abroad on the margins of their manuscripts, still extant at Milan and St. Gall, in such terms as, “in nomine Ihesu et Sanctæ Brigitæ;” “fave Brigita;” “Sancta Brigita adiuvā scriptorem istius artis.” Some words in very old Irish ascribed to Brigit appear in the Hiberno-Latin manuscript of the eighth or ninth century in the Library of Berne, referred to by Orelli in his edition of Horace.

The manuscript of Mælbrihte Mac Durnan, which in some of its undecorated parts much resembles the Book of Armagh, contains the four Gospels, with figures of the Evangelists and elaborately coloured and graceful initial pages. The latter are pre-eminently elegant, and three of them appear on plate XXX. At foot of the page containing a portion of the Gospel of St. Matthew, xxvii. 24–32, the writer alludes, in two lines in the Irish language, to the scourging and mocking of Christ before crucifixion. This page is represented on plate XXXI., No. 3. In Mac Durnan’s volume are also inscribed Latin lines on the Evangelists, and copies of Saxon documents. The presentation of the book to Canterbury by Athelstan is recorded as follows on the second leaf :—

✠ MÆIELBRIDUS · MAC  
DURNANI · ISTV̇ · TEXTV̇  
PER TRIQUADṘ · DÔ ·  
DIGNE · DOGMATISAT  
✠ AST · AÆTHELSTANUS ·  
ANGLOSÆXANA · REX, ET ·  
RECTOR · DORVVERNENSI ·  
METROPLI · DAT · PER · ÆVU ·

Four gilt illustrations of the life of Christ, apparently of the French school towards the fourteenth century, have been inserted in the volume. In the sixteenth century, Mac Durnan’s manuscript was in the hands of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, by whom several of the pages were marked and numbered with red chalk.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, with much liberality, authorized the

MS.  
of  
MacDurnan.

facilities requisite to render this and other documents in the ancient and valuable Library of Lambeth Palace available for the present work, and to his Grace's Librarian, S. W. Kershaw, M.A., I am also indebted for assistance. In his treatise on the "Art Treasures of the Lambeth Library," Mr. Kershaw describes the "Gospels of Mac Durnan" as one of the most precious and remarkable manuscripts in that collection. "It appears," he adds, "to have remained at Canterbury until the dissolution of the monasteries. How it came into its present place of deposit is unknown."

Book  
of  
Hymns.

XXXII.-XXXVI.—THE BOOK OF HYMNS, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, was formerly in the collection of Primate Ussher, and now consists of thirty-four leaves. It contains hymns and metrical pieces, in Latin and Irish, on Saints Patrick, Brigit, and Columba, together with compositions ascribed to Patrick, Columba, Adamnan, Broccan, Cuchuimne, Cumine, Dallan, Fiac, Mugint, Ninine, Oengus, Sanctain, and Ultan. In it are also the "Gloria in excelsis," "Te Deum," "Magnificat," Prayer of St. John the Evangelist, Epistle to Abgarus, and other pieces of cognate class. Most of the hymns are copiously glossed in very small old writing, and they are preceded by introductions or prefaces in intermixed Latin and Irish.

We have no means of precisely fixing the age of this manuscript of the BOOK OF HYMNS, but it may probably be assigned to the eleventh or twelfth century. Another and very similar Irish Book of Hymns exists in the hands of the Irish branch of the Franciscan Order. From the latter manuscript Colgan, in 1647, printed, with a Latin version, the hymn on St. Patrick ascribed to Fiac,\* of which since that period many translations have appeared. This ancient Irish composition, the language of which is in some parts very obscure, is now, on these plates, reproduced in facsimile for the first time from the manuscript in Trinity College.

At the time of his conversion to Christianity, Fiac is represented to have been a youthful poet, under the tutelage of Dubthach, chief bard of Ireland. The metrical construction of the hymn has been analysed by Zeuss, who wrote of it :

"Pervetustus haud dubie est hymnus in S. Patricium, quem Hiberni tribuunt eius discipulo Fiacco, quamquam cum ceteris, quæ Libro Hymnorum continentur, interdum vitiatus est corruptela formarum grammaticarum."

Fiac belonged to one of the dominant septs in Leinster, of a district of which he was the first bishop ; and his relics were preserved with veneration in his church at Sletty, near Carlow. His name appears in

\* In his version of "Calderon's Dramas," (London: 1873), D. F. MacCarthy points out that in all editions of the "Purgatory of St. Patrick" (Act I., Scene 2), the words "es tox" have been apparently misprinted for "Emtor" or "Nemtor," the birthplace of St. Patrick mentioned in Fiac's Hymn.

the calendar of Irish Saints on the 12th of October, and he is included as a "Bishop and Confessor" in the "Acta Sanctorum." The Editors of the latter, however, considered the hymn ascribed to him to be a composition of later date than his age. The late J. H. Todd, D.D., commenced, but did not live to complete, an edition of the Book of Hymns, portions of which have also been published by W. Stokes, LL.D., and others.

Book  
of  
Hymns.

Specimens of the ornamental initial letters from the Book of Hymns are reproduced in colours on plates XXXV. and XXXVI.

XXXVII.-IX.—The fragment, consisting of sixty-seven leaves, styled LEABHAR NA H-UIDHRI, or "the Book of the Dun Cow," is generally believed to be the oldest manuscript, not ecclesiastical, now extant entirely in the Irish language. It was compiled and transcribed by Moelmuiri Mac Ceileachair, who was killed by robbers in a church at Clonmacnois, A.D. 1106.

Leabhar  
Na  
H-Uidhri.

On two pages of the manuscript are small memoranda which purport to have been made, as trials of the pen, by the compiler, Moelmuiri, grandson of Conn "of the poor." Conn, the grandfather of Moelmuiri, is stated to have been a member of a literary and benevolent family, and to have been named in Irish *na m-bocht* or "of the poor," from the number of the necessitous whom he constantly relieved at Clonmacnois. He is said to have been in high repute in Scotland, and was designated "Head of the Culdees, anchorite, and the glory and dignity of Clonmacnois," where he died at an advanced age in A.D. 1059. His descendant Moelmuiri, who died in 1180, is supposed to have been Marianus Gormanus, who compiled an Irish Martyrology.

Of the history of the LEABHAR NA H-UIDHRI we have few particulars beyond those supplied by the entries on page 37, represented on plate XXXIX. In the first of these, Sigraïd O'Cuirrdin states, that by direction of the chieftain Domnall O'Conor, he renews the name of Moelmuiri, son of Ceileachair, son of Conn "of the poor," who wrote and collected this "beautiful book" from various sources, and for him he begs a prayer. The second entry requests a prayer for Aed O'Donel, who by force recovered this book and the "Short Book" from the people of Connaught, to whom they had some time previously been given in ransom for the son of O'Donel's family historian.

Sigraïd O'Cuirrdin, poet and musician, who made the first of these inscriptions, died on a pilgrimage in 1347, and the entry in his hand is assigned to A.D. 1345. The second entry is corroborated by the Four Masters, who record that O'Donel recovered the LEABHAR NA H-UIDHRI and the *Leabhar gearr*, or "Short Book," in 1470, when, after a long siege, he captured the castle of Sligo from O'Conor.

The contents of LEABHAR NA H-UIDHRI now consist mainly of fragmentary pieces in prose and verse on the Ulster champion Cuchulainn

**Leabhar Na H-Uidhri.** and personages of the heroic and early Christian periods in Ireland; notices of ancient places of sepulture; elegy by Dallan Forgaill on St. Columba; Adamnan's vision; a version of the history by Nennius; and discourses on Resurrection and Judgment. Some of the matter purports to have been extracted from manuscripts now missing, such as "the Yellow Book," "the Yellow Book of Slane," "the Short Book," "the Books of Eochaidh O'Flannagan," and "the Book of Drom Sneachta."

**LEABHAR NA H-UIDHRI** is perhaps the sole survivor of the books which were in use at Clonmacnois in ancient times. It would appear to have received its designation from a now lost volume of the same name said to have been compiled and transcribed by St. Ciaran, who, about A.D. 540, founded the first church at Clonmacnois, on the east bank of the Shannon, about seven miles from Athlone. Clonmacnois from the sixth to the twelfth century contained many ecclesiastical and scholastic establishments, the extent of which is evidenced by their still existing remains. Of the erudition and high character of some of the former teachers there we have external attestation in a letter which Alcuin, one of the best scholars of his time wrote, when, towards A.D. 790, he transmitted contributions from Charlemagne to Colcu in Ireland. Alcuin addressed Colcu, who was Lector at Clonmacnois, as his "most holy father," and with him, and his associates, it would appear he maintained a correspondence. Of him Mabillon, the learned French Benedictine, observed: "*Illustrem fuisse oportet Colcum illum, quem tanti facit Alcuinus, ut eum patrem sanctissimum seque filium ejus dicat.*"

Cuchulainn, the subject of the story of which the commencement appears on plates XXXVII. and XXXVIII., is represented to have flourished as a prince of Ulster, in the first century of the Christian era and he is styled in ancient writings "*fortissimus heros Scotorum.*" The heroic exploits of Cuchulainn formed of old the subject of numerous compositions in the Irish language, specimens of which are given from the **BOOK OF LEINSTER** in our second part. He is introduced under the name of "Cuthullin" in the "Ossian" of Macpherson. Murtheimne, where the scene of the present tale is laid, was the ancient name of a territory situated in the district known in modern times as the county of Louth. The conclusion of the story will be found in Appendix IV.

**LEABHAR NA H-UIDHRI**, now in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, is of high value in a philological point of view. In orthography, accentuation, and accuracy, it is superior to most of the Irish manuscripts of later age. It is written mainly in double columns, without any colour-ornamentation, except some inelaborate touches in yellow, red, and dark purple, mostly near or within the frames of the initial or other large ornamental characters. **LEABHAR NA H-UIDHRI** remained unpublished until 1870, when, under my supervision the entire of it was reproduced in lithographic facsimile for the Royal Irish Academy, by Mr. Joseph O'Longan, of the Academy's department of MSS. This edition was collated by B. O'Looney, M.R.I.A., to whom I am



indebted for valuable assistance in connexion with the matter in the Irish language in the present publication.

**XL.—XLIII.—MANUSCRIPT BY MÆLBRIGHT HUAMÆLUANAIGH.** This MS. by Mælbrighte Hua Mæluanaigh. volume, completed at Armagh, A.D. 1138, contains the Four Gospels with the usual prefaces. The Gospel of St. Matthew, so far as chap. xxvii., and portions of those of Saints Mark and Luke are, in their interlinear and marginal spaces, filled with minutely-written glosses and commentary from Origen, Cyprian, Eusebius, Isidore, Leo, Priscian, Gregory, Bede, and Manchan or Manchanus.

In addition to the Irish poem on the personal characteristics and modes of death of the Apostles (Plate XL.) the volume includes eleven quatrains in that language on the Wise Men of the East, and various short verses on religious or biblical subjects.

The transcriber mentions at fol. 13, plate XLII., that the writing of his preceptor, MacIntagairt of Tuignetha, is at the head of that page, and he prays "that God may be gentle to the soul of Mæliissu." He probably here refers to Mæliissu Mæcoluim, "Chief Keeper of the Calendar of Armagh, its chief Antiquary and Librarian," whom the annalists record to have died in 1136. Of this MacIntagairt of Tuignetha, now Tynan, near Armagh, no particulars are known. So late, however, as the reign of James I. the clan MacIntagairt occupied land in the parish of Tynan.

Hua Mæluanaigh has entered his name on three pages of this book. In one of these (page 127, plate XLI.) he states that he wrote it in the twenty-eighth year of his age. On page 60 (Plate XLI.), he makes an observation on the slaying of Cormac MacCarthy by Torlogh O'Brien. In a colophon on the last page, reproduced on plate XLII., Hua Mæluanaigh states that he finished the writing of the volume at Armagh, and he enumerates the then existing kings of Ireland. He also mentions the year as that in which Cormac, king-bishop of Munster, was slain, and adds that Gilla Mac Liac was then the "successor of Patrick" in the see of Armagh. These entries demonstrate that the volume was finished at Armagh in A.D. 1138.

The stone-roofed church on the Rock of Cashel, known as "Cormac's Chapel," was so called from having been erected in 1134 for Cormac MacCarthy, whose death is here recorded.

Gilla Mac Liac was the bishop who, in 1137, succeeded St. Malachy at Armagh; and St. Bernard described him as "Gelasium, virum bonum et dignum tali honore."

The concordance of the contemporary chronological entries in Hua Mæluanaigh's manuscript with the native chronicles in various distant collections, with which the writer could not have been conversant, has been adduced as evidence of the general historic fidelity of the old Irish annalists.

In the early part of the eighteenth century this manuscript was in

MS. by  
Mælbrihte  
Hua Mælu-  
anaigh.

the "Bibliothèque du Roi," Paris, and attracted the attention of Père Richard Simon, who in his "Bibliothèque Critique," 1708, described it as a handsome volume written eight centuries previously in ancient Saxon characters by "Dom Ælbrigte," a Benedictine monk.

"On trouve," wrote Simon, "dans la Bibliothèque du Roy un beau Manuscrit Latin des quatre Evangiles, escrit il y a pour le moins 800 ans, en vieux caractères Saxons . . . Il [le copiste] ajoute à la fin de son exemplaire plusieurs lignes en langage Saxon. . . Le copiste, qui estoit un moine Benedictin, prend le nom de Dom Ælbrigte."

Simon fell into these errors through a misconception of the language, and of the entries on the pages represented on plates XLI. and XLII., in which the scribe wrote in Irish as follows:—"Oroit do Maelbrigte"—"a prayer for Mælbrihte."

From the "Bibliothèque du Roi" the book was stolen by Jean Aymon, who carried it with other manuscripts which he had purloined to Holland. There it was seen and examined in 1709 by the noted John Toland, a native of Ulster, who recognised its Irish origin, but erroneously conceived it to have been written in the tenth century. From Aymon the book was purchased by Humphrey Wanley, about 1718, for Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, and with the Harleian collection it came to the British Museum, where it is numbered 1,802. Wanley regarded the manuscript as a standard for the Irish hand of the early part of the twelfth century, and spoke of it as "one of the most authentic copies of the Latin Gospels which they have set forth from that island."

There are perhaps no finer specimens of minute old writing extant than those in the margins and interlineations of this manuscript. At the foot of a small slip introduced between folia 49 and 51, represented on plate XL., the transcriber, in exceedingly small characters, in the Gaelic language, observes:—"If I wished, I could write the whole treatise like this." On the last page he closes the volume with two lines in Gaelic in which he asks a blessing on every one who will pardon the faults of this book, and adds, "let him say a Pater for the soul of the scribe; for it [the book] requires much indulgence both in text and commentary."

Various notes from St. Jerome, Gregory, Gennadius, etc., appear on the margins in writing which Wanley designated a "newer or English hand." Wanley observed that "the person who wrote these more modern notes hath often rased off the old notes, that he might put the number of the chapters in their place, as at fol. 12. b. 14. 15. 18. b. 20. b., &c. Sometimes the said old marginal notes have been rased off, upon other occasions, as fol. 28. 31. b. &c. I," added Wanley, "have before mentioned Manchanus as one of the authors who makes the little catena upon St. Matthew. He is cited under the marks  $\hat{m}$  and  $\hat{m}$  and  $m\hat{u}n$ , and plainly appeareth to have been an Irishman by his notes, some of which are partly in the Irish tongue, as in the lower margin of fol. 49, and other places."

The modern writing on fol. 60 recto (Plate XLI.), is probably of the

time of John O'Brien, Roman Catholic bishop of Cloyne, who in his Irish Dictionary, published at Paris in 1768, referred as follows to this page :—

MS. by  
Mælbrigte  
Hua Mælu-  
annigh.

"In an old valuable manuscript of the four Gospels in Latin, written in Irish characters, first belonging to the King's Library at Paris (where Père Simon ignorantly judged it written in the Saxon character), but now to be seen in the British Musæum at London, the following marginal remark in old Irish is found at the end of the Gospel of St. Matthew, p. 60, *is mór in gnim Cormac Mac Carthaig do mharbhad O Thordhealbach O'Briain*; i.e. 'the killing of Cormac MacCarthaig by Torlogh O'Brien is a very surprising act.'" Dr. O'Brien added that by virtue of the "marginal remarks of the writer of that inestimable manuscript, I have been enabled to furnish the keepers and overseers of the British Musæum with a note, whereby the antiquity of that manuscript is ascertained and fixed at the year 1138."

This volume has been mentioned by various writers. A description of it, under the title of the "Codex Mælbrigte," was communicated to the Royal Irish Academy, in 1851, by the Very Rev. William Reeves, D.D., who has kindly revised the very complicated matter which I have printed from this manuscript. From these specimens it will be seen that, in its interlineations and glosses, it abounds with intricate and obscure passages written in a very contracted style.

**XLIII.—XLIV.—ANNALS BY TIGHERNACH.**—Tighernach O'Braoin, the earliest Irish compiler of annals of Ireland, was abbot of the monasteries of Clonmacnois and Roscommon, and died in the year 1088. Of the oldest and best copy of his annals now known but twelve leaves survive, and of this fragment, which may be assigned to the first half of the twelfth century, two pages are represented on plates XLIII. and XLIV. Some portions of these relative to foreign affairs have been taken by Tighernach almost verbatim from the works of Bede, Isidore, Orosius, and St. Jerome's version of the Chronicon of Eusebius of Cesarea. The transcriber has not, however, introduced chronological numerals, but in their places he has used repetitions of the letter K, an abbreviation for Kalendæ. The manuscript contains a few Greek characters, and in connexion with these may be noticed the forms in which the surname of Antiochus Theos is presented on plate XLIV. col. 2. In plate XLIII. col. 2, may be read Tighernach's observation that all the monuments of the Scots [Irish] were uncertain till the time of Cimbaed, king of Ulster, whom he synchronised with Ptolemy I. of Egypt, about 300 years before Christ.

This fragment of Tighernach formerly belonged to Sir James Ware, and it is now preserved in the Bodleian Library. The style of the characters in the manuscript resembles portions of the autograph chronicle of Tighernach's contemporary, Marianus Scotus, now extant in the Vatican. There is also a similarity in their Latin orthography; but we have no means of identifying the author of the Annals before us with the

**Annals by Tighernach** Tighernach whom Marianus designated "senior meus." A page from a more modern copy of the ANNALS BY TIGHERNACH—also preserved in the Bodleian Library—is reproduced on plate XC. of our "Facsimiles."

Tighernach's Annals, it has been observed, "are scarcely more valuable for the material of history which their own pages furnish, than for the proofs they afford of still earlier records existing when they were written ; records which, as appear from the dates of eclipses preserved by this chronicler, and which could not otherwise than by written memorials have reached him so accurately, must have extended, at least, as far back as the period when Christianity became the religion of the country. Another service conferred on the cause of Irish antiquities by this work independently of its own intrinsic utility, arises from the number of metrical fragments we find scattered throughout its pages, cited from writings still more ancient, which were then evidently existing, though at present no other vestige of them remains. That Tighernach had access to some library or libraries furnished with books of every description, is manifest from his numerous references, and the correctness of his citations from foreign authors, with whose works we are acquainted, may be taken as a surety for the genuineness of his extracts from the writings of our own native authors now lost."

**Ancient Gospels.**

**XLV.—ANCIENT GOSPELS :** Harleian Collection, British Museum.—This copy of the Latin Gospels, mainly according to the Vulgate version, is defective at the commencement of the Gospel of St. Matthew, and may be assigned to the early part of the twelfth century. With the Gospels of the other three Evangelists, it contains verses on Christ, succession of kings of Egypt, verses on the Biblical books, names of the Seven Sleepers, and prologues to Luke and John. On plate XLV. are reproduced from this manuscript the initial pages of the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John, together with a page containing a drawing of the symbol of the Evangelist Mark.

ACCOUNT  
OF  
FACSIMILES  
OF  
NATIONAL MANUSCRIPTS OF IRELAND.  

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PART II.



# ACCOUNT OF FACSIMILES

OF

## NATIONAL MANUSCRIPTS OF IRELAND.

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### PART II.

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**XLVI.-XLVII. — ANCIENT GOSPELS.**—This elegantly-written **Ancient Gospels.** Hiberno-Latin copy of the Gospels is preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The version is that of the Vulgate, preceded by St. Jerome's Preface and the Eusebian Canons. The latter, two pages of which are reproduced on plate XLVI., are in figures, within coloured columns, with Latin headings in the Irish character. On the back of the fifth leaf is an elaborate and hitherto little known diagram, in connexion with the Evangelists, styled "Alea Evangelii," or "the Gospel Dice," reproduced on plate XLVI. This is a square table, containing three hundred and eighty-four small squares of equal size, divided by red lines and surrounded by a yellow frame. According to this manuscript, the table was brought to Ireland by Dubinsi, Bishop of Bennchor, or Bangor, in Ulster, from the house of Athelstan, King of the Angles. Dubinsi is referred to by the native Irish annalists as a learned bishop of Erin. He is stated to have died A.D. 951, and his death is recorded on a page of the Innisfallen Annals, now in the Bodleian Library, which is reproduced on plate LXXXIX., of the present series.

Bennchor, with which Dubinsi was connected, was the site of a monastery founded by St. Comgal, who died at the age of ninety-one, at the commencement of the seventh century. He is described by old Gaelic writers as "a man who fostered and educated very many other holy men, as he kindled an unquenchable fire of the love of God in their hearts and minds, as," they added, "is evident from the old books of Erin."

The monastery of Bennchor was a principal centre from which the early missionaries of Ireland carried Christianity to the Continent, and it was rendered still more famous throughout Europe from having educated St. Columbanus, founder of the Abbeys of Luxeuil and Fontaines, in France.

Verses, in Latin and Irish, relating to the community of the monastery of Bennchor, and in commemoration of its Abbots, are extant in an "Antiphonary" in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. The references in this ancient manuscript to the Abbots of Bennchor harmonize with the

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Gospels.

entries concerning them contained in the Gaelic annals extant in England and Ireland.

St. Bernard, in the twelfth century, bore testimony to the services which the missionaries reared at Bennchor had rendered in propagating the doctrines of Christianity. He characterized it as a most noble institution, the nursery of holy men, and the head of many monasteries. Its branches, he observed, not only flourished throughout Ireland and Scotland, but sent crowds of teachers to Gaul and distant parts of Europe.

The volume before us is ornamented throughout with coloured initial capitals, composed of contorted animals, interacements, and spirals, in red, yellow, blue, and purple, the tints of which are still fresh and bright.

The Irish origin of the manuscript is further indicated by a hitherto unnoticed Gaelic line, written in minute characters on the back of folio 41 (plate XLVII.), in which the scribe apparently intended to express his condemnation of the conduct of St. Peter in denying Christ, as there recorded in the text of the Gospel of St. Matthew.

The learned English editors of the "Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels" speak of the volume under notice as "a beautiful Irish manuscript, circa 1100." They observe that omissions have been supplied in it, and interpolations weeded out, and that the text had evidently undergone considerable recension, "yet without entire sacrifice of the national [Irish] characteristics of this distinct and remarkable class of manuscripts."

The manuscript is in excellent preservation, with the exception of some leaves in the centre and towards the end, which are heavily stained. It is bound in strong oak boards, covered with brown calf leather, now much faded, and secured with strings.

The only particulars known in connexion with the history of the book are, that it was presented to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, on the 23rd of April, 1619, by Henry Parry, one of the Fellows of that house, and that it was registered in the old catalogues as a copy of the Four Gospels, written in Anglo-Saxon letters—"Quatuor Evangelia, Latine, sed literis Saxoniciis."

Henry Parry, by whom the manuscript was presented to the College, would appear to have been a relation or a connexion of Edward Parry, who was Bishop of Killaloe from 1647 to 1650, and whose sons John and Benjamin, were successively Bishops of Ossory, between 1672 and 1678. A fellowship in the College to which this volume belongs was held for a time by Benjamin Parry, and a letter written by him in 1665 is extant among the Ormonde Archives in Kilkenny Castle. John Parry was a friend of Sir James Ware, and addressed a Latin panegyric epistle to him on the publication of his History of the Bishops of Ireland. Bishop Edward Parry, and others of the Parry family, were buried in the church of St. Audoen, in the city of Dublin.



**XLVIII.—ANCIENT PSALTER.**—This Hiberno-Latin Psalter, now preserved in the British Museum, is written in rotund Irish characters similar to those in the Book of Kells. It formed a portion of the Cottonian collection, and suffered severely from the fire at Ashburnham House, London, in 1731. The manuscript was carefully repaired, and now consists of fifty-nine leaves, some of which are almost entirely black and illegible. It contains a drawing of David and Goliath, and ornamented initial pages, one of which has been reproduced on this plate, No. 2. Ancient Psalter.

**XLIX.—ANCIENT PSALTER.**—This manuscript, which also belonged to Sir Robert Cotton, is much smaller in size than the preceding one, from which it differs materially in style and ornamentation. The writing is angular and of a very contracted nature, with some ornamental initial letters and large capitals in red and black. It received considerable damage in the fire of 1731. Nothing appears to be known of its history beyond what is stated as follows in the old catalogue of Sir Robert Cotton's MSS. :—"Psalterium Davidis, characteribus Hibernicis vetustissimis, cum cantico Mosis, Hannæ, et trium puerorum. Additur in fine folium, Hibernicè. Dicitur fuisse liber Oswini Regis."

**L.—LI.—ANCIENT MISSAL.**—This volume is of small dimensions, being only about six inches in length, by five in width, and of great thickness in proportion to its height, owing to the solid character of the vellum upon which it is written. All the first portion of it has, unfortunately, disappeared, and it now opens with that part of the Mass called the Canon. Age and attrition, however, have rendered this initial page nearly illegible. The Missal consists at present of 211 leaves, written in contracted Latin, in large and heavy angular Irish characters, somewhat resembling those in the text of the fragment of an old Irish Hymnarium which has long been in the possession of the Franciscans of the Irish Province. Almost every page of the Missal contains coloured initial letters, and throughout the volume we find fantastic representations of grotesque-looking animals, extremely attenuated and generally coloured with purple patches on a red ground, with elongated yellow tongues, tails, and top-knots. In addition to these embellishments, the manuscript contains many coloured initial letters of very large proportions, extending from the top to the bottom of the page, as shown on plate L. The larger letters are mostly composed of complicated interlacements, in combination with lacertine reptiles, and are executed in a style similar to that observable in some of the ornamentation on the carved stone at Clonmacnoise. Ancient Missal.

Included in the Litanies are the names of the Irish saints, Patrick, Brigit, Columba, Brendan, Finnian, Ciaran, and Furseus. The facsimile of the page containing these names is given on plate LI. It is remarkable that this Litany makes no mention of several saints of Ireland who are

Ancient  
Missal.

invoked in the ancient Irish Missal formerly preserved at Stowe, such as Comgal, Canice, Finbar, Ruadhan, Kevin, Mochoonna, Ita, and others.

In the Mass for Palm Sunday, the several parts of the Gospel proper to that day, containing the narrative of the Passion according to St. Matthew, which were to be chanted by the respective singers, are indicated by small red letters placed over the initial words.

The most peculiar portions of the Missal are, perhaps, the following invocations in the Litany for Easter-eve, praying that God may preserve the King of the Irish and his army, and grant them life, health, and victory :

“ Ut regem hibernensium et exercitum eius conseruare digneris :

“ Ut eis uitam et sanitatem atque uictoriam dones.”

The page containing these entries is reproduced on plate L.

No similar prayer, so far as hitherto known, has been found in any other Irish ritual. The King here alluded to may have been either Muirchearthach MacLochlainn, Torlogh O'Connor, or his son Roderic, all of whom flourished towards the middle of the twelfth century. The words “ Regem Hibernensium ” would seem to indicate that this service-book was not intended for a special locality, nor for any of the provincial, or minor kings. The latter, in the opening lines of their Latin diplomas, inserted after their names those of the districts over which they ruled. The monarch of all Ireland, on the other hand, styled himself, in the initial clauses of his charters, “ Rex Hiberniæ,” or “ Rex totius Hiberniæ.” In an inscription on an elegant metal cross, still extant, made for Torlogh O'Connor, monarch of Ireland, he is designated, in Gaelic, “ *Rígh Erend*,” or King of Erin.

In addition to the invocation for the King, in the Litany, the Missal contains the following prayers in the Mass “ Pro Rege.”

“ *Oratio.*—Oremus omnipotens deus ut famulus tuus rex noster qui tuo nutu suscepit regni gubernacula uirtutum etiam percipiat incrementa, quibus decenter ornatus et uitiorum uoraginem deuitare et hostes superare et a te qui uia ueritas et uita es gratiosus ualeat peruenire. per.

“ *Secretum.*—Suscipe domine preces et hostias ecclesie tue pro salute famuli tui regis nostri te supplicantes et in protectione fidelium populorum antiqua brachii tui operare miracula ut superatis pacis inimicis secura tibi seruiat libertas christiana. per.

“ *Post Communionem.*—Hec domine communis salutaris famulum tuum regem, nostrum ab omnibus tueatur aduersis quatinus et ecclesiastice pacis obtineant tranquillitatem et post istius temporis decursum ad eternam perueniat hereditatem. per.”

The prayers for the festival of St. Patrick are as follows : “ *Oratio.*—Deus qui sanctum patricium scotorum apostolum tua providentia elegisti ut hibernenses gentes in tenebris et in errore gentilitatis errantes ad uerum lumen dei scientie reduceret et per lauacrum regenerationis

filios excelsi dei efficeret tribue nobis quesumus eius piis intercessionibus ut ad ea que recta sunt quantocius festinemus. per. *Secreta*.—Hostias tibi quas in honorem sancti patricii offerimus deuotas accipias ut nos a timore iudicii liberemur. per. *Post Communionem*.—Omnipotentem dominum uniuersitatis auctorem suppliciter exoramus ut qui spirituale sacrificium in honorem sancti patricii offerimus fiat nobis remedium sempiternum. per.”

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Missal.

The preceding Collect partly corresponds with one for St. Patrick's festival in an ancient Armagh Breviary, and in the old Irish MS. now known as the “Rosslyn” Missal. The reference, in the Post Communion prayer, to St. Patrick's protection on the Day of Judgment was probably based upon passages in connexion with him in the Book of Armagh, and in the Ancient Gaelic hymn ascribed to his disciple, Bishop Fiacc, reproduced on plate XXXIV. In these writings the angel styled Victor is represented to have consoled St. Patrick, when dying, with the assurance that he would be permitted to act as intercessor for the men of Erin before the Judgment-Seat of God on the Last Day.

The following are the Collect, Secret, and Post Communion for the Mass of St. Brigit, Patroness and chief Abbess of Ireland :

“*Oratio*.—Celorum atque terrarum conditor et gubernator omnipotens deus peccanti populo succurre tua pietate et per antiqu . . in honorem sancte brigite presentem diei . . gerimus sollemnitatem per ipsius suffragia perhenni misericordia tua potiamur. per. *Secretum*.—Ecclesie tue quesumus domine preces et hostias beate brigide commendet oratio utque per illius . . tis maiestatem tuam indefessa atque exorabilem humiliter adiuti misericordiam tuam sentiamus. per. *Post Communionem*.—Adiuuet nos quesumus domine hec misteria sancta qua sumpsimus et beate uirginis brigite intercessio ueneranda. per.”

It is somewhat remarkable that this Missal, which is all in Latin, should have been written in the Irish characters ; more especially as we now have evidence that the style termed, in French, “diplomatique minuscule,” was in use among the native Irish in the middle of the twelfth century. This fact has been recently brought to light through my discovery of the unique Hiberno-Latin documents of this class, hitherto unknown to paleographers or historic investigators, and which are reproduced on plate LXII. of the present work.

The Missal is bound in strong wooden covers, and with it is preserved an ancient leather satchel, ornamented with impressed lines and circles. It appears to have been the usage of old in Ireland to keep books in satchels, which were called in Irish *polaire*, or *tiagha lebar*, and of these some curious specimens in leather are still extant.

The custom which prevailed amongst ecclesiastics in Ireland of carrying service-books in satchels, or *perulæ*, is mentioned in old Gaelic tales and incidentally by Cambrensis. In his account of the interview, said to have occurred about A.D. 1182, and styled “stupenda confabulatio,” between an Ulster priest and a man-wolf and his dying female companion,

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Missal.

in a wood on the borders of Meath, he writes as follows: "[Lupa] supplicavit ut viatici largitione beneficium consummaret. Quo sacerdos cum se carere firmiter asseruisset, lupus qui parumper abscesserat iterum accessit, ostendens ei perulam, librum manulem et aliquot hostias consecratas continentem; quæ more patriæ presbyter itinerans a collo suspensa deferebat. . . Tandem sacerdos . . . terrore tamen magis quam ratione compulsus, communicavit."

Had the Missal before us been held in special veneration—from its having been connected, for instance, with any pre-eminent saint—its custodians would have probably had it enshrined in an ornamented metal casket, similar to that of the old Irish Missal formerly at Stowe, or that of the ancient Psalter styled "the Cathach," described at page vii, in the first part of the present work, and in the Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS., 1874. The Corpus Christi College Missal contains some marginal entries in writing much more recent than that of the text. These, however, are unimportant, and throw no light on the history of the volume, of which nothing authentic appears to be known. It was not included in the "Librorum Manuscriptorum Collegii Corporis Christi in Oxonia Catalogus," printed at Oxford in 1697. The first reference to it would seem to be the following by the Rev. H. O. Coxe, now Bodley's Librarian, in his Catalogue published in 1852, of the MSS. of Corpus Christi College: "Codex membranaceus in 4to. minori, ff. 211, sæc. forsan xi. exeuntis, in Hibernia, ut ex caractere conjectare liceat, exaratus. 1. Ordinarium missæ, fol. 1. 2. Missa de S. Trinitate, fol. 7 b. Missa de S. Maria; orationes pro defunctis, benedictiones, etc., fol. 12. Officium missæ, orationes, lectiones, etc., ab Adventu per anni circulum, fol. 43."

This missal was next mentioned by Professor J. O. Westwood—chiefly in relation to its artistic characteristics—in his valuable work on the miniatures and ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts.

The form of the satchel, and the appearance presented by the Missal when closed, are exhibited in plates 1 and 2, in Appendix II.

In addition to the Stowe Missal, in England, there are two old Irish Missals extant in Scotland. The first of these is known as the "Drummond" Missal, from its having been preserved at Drummond Castle, in Perthshire. The other, which is now at Edinburgh, was formerly attributed, erroneously, to St. Columbanus. It is now more appropriately designated the "Rosslyn" Missal, from its having been for some time in the possession of the Sinclairs of Rosslyn, in Scotland.

The prayers for the festivals of St. Patrick and St. Brigit, and the Litanies are not to be found in the "Drummond" Missal; but the latter contains a Calendar, the absence of which from the Corpus Christi and "Rosslyn" Missals is much to be regretted.

Confession  
of  
St. Patrick.

LII.—CONFESSION OF ST. PATRICK.—The page here reproduced is taken from a large manuscript elegantly written on vellum, which John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, bequeathed in 1686 to the Bodleian Library.

This copy of the Confession of St. Patrick appears to be next in point of age to that in the BOOK OF ARMAGH, previously noticed. The "Confessio Patricii" is one of the most ancient documents now surviving in connexion with the introduction of Christianity into Ireland. The Latin in which it is written is rude and archaic, the author's meaning is in many places obscure, and his numerous Scriptural citations are from ante-Hieronymian versions. The "Confession" would appear to have been intended by St. Patrick as his vindication from charges of self-sufficiency alleged against him in connexion with his missionary work in Ireland, with reference to which he sets out some of his own acts, and humbly refers to his success as evidence that his efforts had met with the Divine recognition.

Doubts were for a time entertained as to the authenticity of this autobiographical tract, but apparently without solid grounds. In the seventeenth and following century, it was accepted as a genuine document by learned British and foreign scholars. Amongst the latter was the acute and laborious Tillemont, whose view as regards the "Confessio" was expressed as follows, in his elaborate work on early Christian History :—

" Les Hibernois qui ont encore aujourd'hui, avec tant de sujet, une veneration toute particuliere pour S. Patrice, n'ont pas manqué d'en faire un grand nombre d'histoires, et plus, comme je croy, qu'on n'en a jamais fait d'aucun Saint. On pretend qu'il en a eu quatre originales, écrites par ses disciples mesmes, mais qui sont perdues. Et il nous reste encore aujourd'hui un fort grand nombre de faits bien circonstanciés qu'on dit de luy. Nous croyons aisément qu'il y en a plusieurs de veritables. Mais il y en a aussi plusieurs qui sont visiblement faux. Ainsi n'y voyant rien de certain, nous aimons mieux nous contenter pour son histoire, d'un écrit qu'on appelle sa Confession, qu'on croit estre de luy mesme, et qui veritablement en est digne. Nous n'y trouverons pas un si grand nombre de faits : mais je croy qu'il y en aura assez pour soutenir l'extreme veneration que l'Eglise d'Irlande a pour luy, et mieux peutestre que cette grande foule de miracles assez peu probables, pour ne dire rien de plus, qu'on lit dans ses vies. Il n'y en a presque aucun dans sa Confession. Il y a au contraire un assez grand nombre de visions : et le Saint mesme y dit que Dieu luy faisoit tres souvent connoitre ce qu'il avoit à faire d'une maniere extraordinaire." . " Le Saint estoit fort agé, et se croyoit proche de sa mort, lorsqu'il fit l'écrit dont nous avons particulierement tiré son histoire. Il le fit pour rendre gloire à Dieu des grandes graces qu'il en avoit receues, et pour assurer les peuples de sa mission à qui il l'adresse, que c'estoit veritablement Dieu mesme qui l'avoit envoyé leur annoncer l'Evangile, afin de fortifier leur foy, et que tout le monde sceust que le desir d'annoncer l'Evangile, et d'avoir part à ses promesses, estoit l'unique raison qui l'avoit fait venir en Irlande. Il avoit depuis longtemps la pensée de faire cet écrit : mais il l'avoit toujours différé, de crainte qu'il ne fust mal receu des hommes, parcequ'il n'avoit pas appris à bien écrire, et

*Confession of St. Patrick.* que ce qu'il avoit sceu de Latin, s'estoit encore corrompu par le mélange du langage des Hibernois. Et il faut avouer que le Latin en est fort mauvais; ce qui fait qu'on a peine en beaucoup d'endroits d'en voir le sens, outre les fautes que les copistes y ont faites. Mais, pour le fond, cet écrit est plein de bon sens, et mesmes d'esprit et de feu. Ce qui est encore plus, c'est qu'il est plein de piété. On y voit partout que le Saint avoit une tres grande humilité, sans rabaisser néanmoins la dignité de son ministere. On y voit aussi un grand desir du martyre, quand son corps eust dû estre mangé par les oiseaux et par les bestes. En un mot, on y voit beaucoup le caractere de S. Paul. Il possedoit assurément fort bien l'Ecriture.

"On donne differens titres à cet ouvrage, et entr'autres celui de la Confession du Saint, que Bollandus a preferé comme le meilleur, le trouvant fondé sur les paroles du Saint mesme. Le Saint y confesse en effet partout et ses propres fautes, et la grandeur de la misericorde de Dieu sur luy, qui l'avoit extremement élevé dans ce siecle mesme à l'égard des Chrétiens quoiqu'il ne desirast point d'autre honneur que celui que la foy nous donne à ses yeux, et qui le conservoit en mesme temps dans l'humilité, par le mepris extreme que beaucoup de payens avoient pour luy." . "Voilà ce que nous trouvons de Saint Patrice, dans les pieces originales qui portent son nom, et ausquelles nous croyons qu'on peut ajouter une foy entiere." . "On ne doute pas que le jour de sa mort n'ait esté le 17 de Mars, auquel sa feste est marquée dans le Martyrologe de Bede, et ensuite dans tous les autres. On l'a mesme ajouté dans de tres anciens exemplaires du martyrologe attribué à Saint Jerome."\*

It may be observed that those who were formerly inclined to question the authenticity of the "Confession" do not appear to have examined or to have had access to the manuscript known as the *BOOK OF ARMAGH*, which contains the most ancient version of it now extant, purporting to have been copied into that book from the original in St. Patrick's own handwriting. The Armagh transcriber's marginal notes indicate that the manuscript from which he copied was in his time obscure or defective in various places. This may perhaps account for the circumstance that the versions extant elsewhere contain passages not in the Armagh manuscript. The latter, as already mentioned, page 26, Part I., was carefully preserved, during several centuries, in connexion with the Primatial See of Ireland.

With the object of affording an opportunity of comparing two of the ancient texts of the "Confession of St. Patrick," the version of the *BOOK OF ARMAGH* and that of the Bodleian MS. are given in the Appendix, each printed line for line as in the original, but with expansion of the contracted words. For revision of the version from the *BOOK OF ARMAGH* I am indebted to the Very Rev. W. Reeves, D.D., Dean of Armagh.

\* Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclesiastique des six premiers siecles. Par M. Lenain de Tillemont. A Paris : 1712, xvi., pp. 455-66.

LIII.—LV.—THE BOOK OF LEINSTER, as a Gaelic manuscript, stands <sup>Book of</sup> next, in point of age and importance, to LEABHAR NA H-UIDHRI, already <sup>Leinster.</sup> described. In its present defective state, the BOOK OF LEINSTER is of much greater extent than the surviving fragment of LEABHAR NA H-UIDHRI. Its pages are also considerably larger than those of the latter manuscript. The existing portions of the BOOK OF LEINSTER consist, so far as known, of one hundred and seventy-seven loose leaves of vellum, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and of eleven leaves in the hands of the Franciscans of the Irish Province. The writing is not always uniform, and is mainly in columns, with many initial letters of an inelaborate character, coloured chiefly with red, green, and yellow.

From internal evidence, we may assume that portions of this manuscript were transcribed towards the middle of the twelfth century, and that additions were made to it in the succeeding years. Marginal entries on some of its pages would seem to indicate that it was commenced under the patronage of Dermot Mac Murragh, King of Leinster, by Aed Mac Crimthan, in connexion with Finn Mac Gorman, Bishop of Kildare.

The contents of the BOOK OF LEINSTER chiefly consist of ancient Irish tales of the heroic period, historical and topographical poems, genealogies, and calendars of saints, together with Irish versions of mediæval tractates.

A portion of this manuscript is devoted to accounts of Tara. Amongst these is a description of the arrangements in the *Tech Midchuarda*, or banqueting-house there, in the time of the monarch, Cormac Mac Art, who is said to have occupied it towards the middle of the third century of the Christian era. Some of these details are set down as follows :—

“The arrangement of the house of Tara by Cormac was more magnificent than that of any of his predecessors. Seven hundred feet was the extent of his mansion, surrounded by nine mounds. Thrice fifty compartments in the mansion. Thrice fifty men in each compartment, and thrice fifty apartments extending from them, with fifty men in each apartment. Cormac gave large gifts to three thousand men each day, besides poets and musicians, and all who came to wait upon him—Gauls, Romans, Franks, Frisians, Longobards, Scots, Saxons, Britons, and Picts—and all of these were wont to come with gold and with silver, and with steeds and four-wheeled chariots.”

The extent of the mansion of Tara, in the time of Cormac's successor, Loegaire, the son of Niall, was, we are told, one-third of that of Cormac :

“Four cubits, the extent of the fire-place, and thirty cubits its perpendicular height. Seven triple mounds around the rath, with seven doors. Fifty grooved golden horns. Fifty vessels of white metal. One hundred drinkings in the vat. Five cubits in the candelabra. Seven door-keepers. Seven distributors. The charioteers around the fire. The jester in presence of the King, and the concourse of the general host outside.”

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Several of these particulars are recorded on the much-worn and partly obliterated twenty-ninth page of the BOOK OF LEINSTER, reproduced on plate LIII. It also contains a poetical description, and a coloured diagram, purporting to be a ground-plan of the banqueting-house. On this are inscribed the positions assigned to the representatives of the various classes, with particulars of the portions of viands appropriated to each. The plan, which does not exhibit much elaboration or artistic skill, consists of a central compartment, with four lateral divisions, and the class designations of the chief occupants of these are set down mainly as follows :— In the two divisions to the left—horsemen, harpers, brehons or jurists, professors of literature, poets, land-holders, augurs and druids, house-builders and constructors, distributors, pipers, smiths, shield-makers, chariot-makers, jugglers, trumpeters, and fishermen. In the two divisions to the right—flock-masters, chess-players, drink-bearers, braziers, physicians, mariners, buffoons, royal door-keepers, charioteers, huntsmen, lords of the classes styled *aire forgaill*, *ard*, *dessa*, and *echta*, minor poets, historians, chief cooks, rath-builders, and artificers. In the central compartment are stationed cup-bearers, with a vat, and lower down is a light and a rudely executed figure, styled *dawl*, or attendant, standing by a long spit at a fire.

The Gaelic prose and poetical descriptions which accompany the plan contain many terms long obsolete, the precise meanings of which cannot now be accurately defined.

The Hill of Tara, situated in central Ireland, was celebrated by old Gaelic writers as the chief seat of the Irish Monarchs from the earliest period to the middle of the sixth century. Its history and monuments form the theme of many ancient Irish compositions, copies of some of the most important of which are found in the BOOK OF LEINSTER. A remarkable verification of many of the statements in those antique pieces was found in the progress of the Ordnance Survey of Ireland, under which an independent, accurate, and scientific examination was made of all the ancient vestiges then traceable in this locality. It may be added that, towards the commencement of the present century, Celtic torques of gold, of considerable weight and elegant workmanship, were accidentally discovered at Tara, near the site of monuments mentioned in these early Gaelic poems. They are now preserved in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, and known as the "Tara Torques."

In the BOOK OF LEINSTER is entered a list of the ancient Irish historic tales, in which they are classed under the following heads : destructions, cattle-spoils, courtships or wooings, battles, incidents of caves, voyages and navigations, tragedies and deaths, feasts, sieges, adventures, elopements, slaughters, expeditions, progresses and conflagrations. The number of historic tales which each class of poets of old in Ireland was bound to have ready for professional recital is detailed thus in this manuscript :—"Of the qualifications of a poet



in stories and in deeds, here follows : to be related to kings and chiefs, Book of  
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viz. : Seven times fifty stories, namely, five times fifty prime stories, and twice fifty secondary stories ; and these secondary stories are permitted [assigned] to four grades only, viz., an *Ollamh*, an *Anroth*, a *Cli*, and a *Cano*. And these are the prime stories :—destructions, preyings, courtships, battles, caves, navigations, tragedies, expeditions, elopements, and conflagrations.”

Of these antique tales the longest and most elaborate is that styled the *Táin bó Cuailgne*, or the Cattle-Spoil of Cuailgne, a place now known as Collon, in the county of Louth. This purports to give the details of wars carried on in the first century of the Christian era, by King Conor Mac Nessa and his martial wife, Mév (*Medbh*), or Mab, Queen of Connacht, against the men of Ulster, and their youthful champion Cuchulainn. This tale abounds in episodes, both in prose and verse, on the feats of the warriors. We are told in the manuscript that many parts of the story had been lost, and that the bards Emine and Murgén set forth to endeavour to recover them. In their journey through Connacht they came to the grave of Fergus Mac Roigh, a famous prince, who had been leader in this war against Ulster. Murgén, seated on the grave of Fergus, addressed a poetical adjuration to him. Suddenly, says the story, there descended a great mist which completely enveloped Murgén for the space of three days, during which Fergus appeared, in his full vigor, clad in a green cloak, a gold-ribbed shirt, with a gold-hilted sword and sandals of bronze, and narrated to him the entire history of the contest. Cuchulainn, designated “the Hound, or champion of Ulster,” is the chief hero of the tale. With his charioteer, Loeg, and his steeds he is described as follows :—

“Two horses, equally large, equally beautiful, but only with a difference of figure and of color ; equally fleet, equally symmetrical, uniform in action, hoof-broad, back-broad, pointed, high-headed, active, nostril-thin, spirited, effective, color-beautiful, very lofty, very vehement, very dappled. They are head-small, very high, very conspicuous, very nimble. Breast-red, large-lipped, large-eyed, sleek, firm, easily yoked, sharp, vigorous, powerful, curl-maned, symmetrical, fair, curl-haired. A large chariot behind that pair. Two black firm wheels : two symmetrical over-lapping rims : hard, sword-straight, shafts. Two beautiful pliant reins : a pole of white silver, with a withe of fine metal. A strong, ridged, very golden yoke. A purple hood : green furnishing. A hero in that chariot : on him a black, thick head of hair : smoothness on it. A gray, twinkling eye in his head. A purple-blue tunic about him of borders of all-white gold-withe. A brooch of red gold on his breast : it extended over each of his shoulders. A white-hooded cloak about him, with a flashing red border. A sword of gold-hilt in rest on his thighs : in his hand a broad gray spear on a shaft of wild ash. A sharp, aggressive dart near it. A purple shield with an even circle of silver, with loop-animals of gold above his shoulders. It seemed as if it was a shower of

Book of Leinster. . . pearls that was flung into his head [as teeth]. Blacker than the side of a black cooking-spit each of his eye-brows : redder than ruby his lips. A charioteer in front of him in the chariot : a very slender, tall, very speckled person. Very curled, very red hair on his head-top : a wreath of fine metal on his forehead, that would not allow his hair about his face. On his ears spheres of gold, into which his hair was gathered. A winged little cloak about him, with an opening on his two elbows. Goadlets of red gold in his hand, with which he was urging on his steeds. It was Cuchulainn and Loeg, his charioteer, that were in it, and it was the steeds Dub-sain-glend and Liath Macha that were under the chariot."

Cuchulainn, on the Ulster border, confronting the chiefs about to enter that territory, challenges them to single combat, and demands that their soldiery shall advance no further till he has been vanquished. Having pitched his tent at a ford, he entered on a series of personal encounters with the bravest of their warriors, and as they all fell before him, he thus held the army at bay from the end of Summer till Spring. Without his leave no man dared to cross the ford. Chief after chief had perished in the attempt, and now the men of Erin asked, in dismay, who should be the first on the morrow to face the northern "Hound," and free the ford ?

The character of the story is exhibited in the following extracts, in which are narrated the manner in which Queen Mév induced the hero Ferdiad to come against his former companion, Cuchulainn ; the interview of the latter with Fergus Mac Roigh ; and the meeting of the two champions :

"Then it was debated by the Men of Erin who should go to combat and do battle with Cuchulainn at the early hour of the morning of the morrow. What they all said was that it was Ferdiad, son of Daman, son of Daré, the great and valiant warrior of the men of Domnand. For their mode of combat and fight was equal and alike. They had learned the science of arms, bravery and valour with the same tutors : with Scathach, and with Uathach, and with Aifé. And neither of them had an advantage over the other, except that Cuchulainn had the feat of the Bolg spear. Nevertheless, Ferdiad was clad in a skin-protecting armour to give combat and battle to a hero at the ford against him. Messages and messengers were then sent for Ferdiad. Ferdiad denied, and declined, and refused those messengers, and he came not with them, because he knew wherefore they wanted him—to fight and combat with his own friend, and companion, and fellow pupil, Cuchulainn, and he came not with them.

"It was then Mév sent the Druids, and the satirists, and the violent excitors for Ferdiad, that they might compose three repressing satires, and three hill-top satires for him, that they might raise three blisters on his face,—shame, blemish, and disgrace ; so that if he died not immediately, he would be dead before the end of nine days, if he came not

with them. Ferdiad came with them for sake of his honour, for he preferred to fall rather by the shafts of valour, gallantry, and bravery, than by those of satire, abuse, and reproach. And when he arrived he was received with honour and attendance, and he was served with pleasant, sweet, inebriating liquor, so that he became intoxicated and gently merry. And great rewards were promised him for making the combat and the fight, namely: a chariot [worth] four times seven bond-women; and the outfit of twelve men in clothes of every colour; and the extent of his own territory to the level plain of Magh Aié, free of tribute, without purchase and without courts or legions, without peril to his son, and to his grandson, and to their descendants, to the end of time and life; and Findabar as his wedded wife, and the golden brooch which was in Mèv's cloak in addition to all these. . . .

"And then did Mèv bind Ferdiad to combat and fight with six champions on the morrow, or to make combat and fight with Cuchulainn, whichever he thought easier. Ferdiad bound her, as he thought, on the sureties of the aforesaid six for the fulfilment of the promise of the rewards that was made to him, should Cuchulainn fall by him.

"Then his horses were caparisoned for Fergus, and his chariot was yoked, and he went forward to where Cuchulainn was, to tell him of it. Cuchulainn bade him welcome. 'I am happy at thy coming, O my good friend, Fergus,' said Cuchulainn. 'I gladly accept that welcome, my pupil,' said Fergus. 'But what I have come for is to tell thee who the person is that comes to combat and fight with thee at the hour of early morning to-morrow.' 'We will listen to thee then,' said Cuchulainn. 'Thine own friend and companion and fellow-pupil; thy co-feat, and co-deed, and co-valourman, Ferdiad, son of Daman, son of Dáre, the great and valiant champion of the men of Domnand.' 'We give our word,' said Cuchulainn, 'it is not to fight ourselves we desire our friend to come.' 'It is now, therefore,' said Fergus, 'that thou requirest to be cautious and prepared, because, unlike any of those who have given thee combat and battle on the Táin bó Cuailgne on this occasion is Ferdiad, son of Daman, son of Dáre.' 'I am here,' said Cuchulainn, 'detaining and delaying the four great provinces of Erin since the first Monday of the beginning of *Samhain* [November] to the beginning of *Imbula* [Spring], and I have not yielded one foot in retreat before any one man during that time, and neither shall I, I trust, yield before him.' And so did Fergus continue to speak to put him on his guard. . . .

"Fergus came back to the court and encampment. Ferdiad went to his tent and to his people, and told them that he was firmly bound by Mèv to give combat and fight to six champions on the morrow or to combat and fight with Cuchulainn alone, if he thought it easier. He told how he had firmly bound Mèv with the security of the same six champions for the fulfilment of the promise of rewards, should Cuchulainn fall by him.

"The inmates of Ferdiad's tent were not cheerful, happy, or in mel-

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ancholy pleasure on that night ; but they were cheerless, sorrowful, and dispirited ; because they knew that wherever the two champions and the two hundred slaying heroes met, that either of them should fall there, or that both of them should fall ; and if it should be one of them, they were certain it would be their own master ; because it was not possible to make combat or fight with Cuchulainn on the Táin Bó Cuailgne.

“ Ferdiad slept the beginning of the night very heavily, and when the latter part of the night came his sleep departed from him, and his intoxication had vanished, and the anxiety of the fight and the battle pressed upon him. And he commanded his charioteer to harness his horses and yoke his chariot. The charioteer began to dissuade him from it. ‘It would be better for thee [to stay than to go there],’ said the servant, ‘for to thee my approval of it is not more than my disapproval.’

“ ‘Be silent now,’ my servant, said Ferdiad [‘for we will not be persuaded by any youth from this journey’]. . . . Ferdiad’s horses were harnessed, and his chariot yoked, and he came forward to the ford of the battle, and the day with its full light had now come upon him there.

“ ‘Good my servant,’ said Ferdiad, ‘spread for me the cushions and skins of my chariot under me here, until I take my deep rest of repose and sleep here, because I slept not the end of the night, through the anxiety of the combat and the battle.’

“ The servant unharnessed the horses. He arranged [the cushions and skins of] the chariot under him, and his heavy repose of sleep came upon him.

“ The history of Cuchulainn here now I will tell. He arose not at all until the day with all its light had come, in order that the men of Erin should not say that it was fear or dread that induced him, if he had arisen. And when day with all its light came, he commanded his charioteer to harness his horses and yoke his chariot. ‘Good, my servant,’ said Cuchulainn, ‘harness our horses for us, and yoke our chariot, for he is an early-rising champion who cometh to meet us to-day, Ferdiad, son of Daman, son of Dáre.’

“ ‘The horses are harnessed, the chariot is yoked, step thou into it, and it will not disparage thy valour.’ And then the battle-fighting, dexterous, battle-winning, red-sworded hero, Cuchulainn, son of Sualtam, sprang into his chariot. And there shouted around him goblins, and spirits, and sprites of the glens, and demons of the air. For the Tuatha dé Danann were used to set up their shouts around him, so that the hatred, and the fear, and the abhorrence, and the great terror of him should be the greater in every battle, in every battle-field, in every combat, and in every fight into which he went.

And it was not long till Ferdiad’s charioteer heard the [approaching] noise, the clamour, and the rattle, and the whistling, and the tramp, and the thunder, the clatter, and the buzz, namely, the shield-noise of the massive shields, and the hissing of the spears, and the loud

clangour of the swords, and the tinkling of the helmet, and the ringing of the armour, and the friction of the arms; the dangling of the missive weapons, the straining of the ropes, and the loud clattering of the wheels and the creaking of the chariot, and the trampling of the horses, and the triumphant advance of the champion and the warrior towards the ford approaching him. The servant came and placed his hand on his lord. 'Good, O Ferdiad!' said the servant, 'arise, here they come to thee to the ford.' . . . 'Good, my servant,' said Ferdiad, 'wherefore is it that thou hast been lauding that man ever since he came from his home? and it is likely that thou art not without wages for thy great praise of him, and Ailill and Mèv have foretold that that man will fall by me. And certain it is that for the sake of reward he shall be quickly slain by me. And it is time for the relief.' . . .

"Ferdiad's charioteer was not long there until he saw something, the beautiful, flesh-seeking, four-peaked chariot, with speed, with velocity, with full cunning, with a green pavilion, with a thin-bodied, dry-bodied, high-weaponed, long-speared, war-like *creit* [body of the chariot]; upon two fleet-bounding, large-eared, fierce, prancing, whale-bellied, broad-chested, lively-hearted, high-flanked, wide-hoofed, slender-legged, broad-backed, resolute horses under it. A gray, broad-hipped, fleet, bounding, long-maned steed under the one yoke of the chariot. A black, tuft-maned, ready-ging, broad-backed steed under the other yoke.

"Like unto a hawk [swooping] from a cliff on a day of hard wind; or like a sweeping gust of the Spring wind on a March day, over a smooth plain; or like the fleetness of a wild stag on his being first started by the hounds in his first field, were Cuchulainn's two horses with the chariot, as though they were on fiery flag-stones; so that the earth shook and trembled with the velocity of their motion.

"And Cuchulainn reached the ford. Ferdiad came on the south side of the ford. Cuchulainn drew up on the north side.

"Ferdiad bade welcome to Cuchulainn. 'I am happy at thy coming, O Cuchulainn,' said Ferdiad. 'The welcome would have been acceptable to me until this time,' said Cuchulainn; 'but this day I deem it not acceptable as friendship indeed. And Ferdiad,' said Cuchulainn, 'it were fitter that I bade thee welcome than that thou shouldest welcome me, because it is thou that hast come to me into the country and province in which I am, and it was not proper for thee to come to combat and fight with me, but it were more fit that I went to combat and fight with thee. Because it is out before thee are my women and my children, and my youths, my horses and my steeds, my flocks, and my herds and my cattle.' 'Good, O Cuchulainn,' said Ferdiad, 'what has brought thee to combat and to fight with me at all? Because when we were with Scáthach and with Uathach and with Aife, thou wert my attendant man, namely, to tie up my spears and to prepare my bed.'

"'It is true, indeed,' said Cuchulainn, 'but it was then as younger and junior to thee, I used to do so for thee; and this, however, is not

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the story that will be told hereafter of this day. For there is not in the world a champion that I would not fight this day.' And it was then each of them uttered sharp, unfriendly invectives against the other. . . .

"'Good, O Ferdiad,' said Cuchulainn, 'it was not proper for thee to have come to combat and fight with me through the instigation and intermeddling of Ailill and Mèv; and to none of those who came before thee has it given victory or success; and they all fell by me; and neither shall it win victory or increase [of fame] for thee; by me shalt thou fall.' . . .

"'Good, O Ferdiad,' said Cuchulainn, 'therefore it is that thou shouldst not have come to combat and to fight with me. For when we were with Scathach, and with Uathach, and with Aife, it was together we used to go to every battle and every battle-field, to every fight and every combat, to every forest and every wilderness, through every darkness and every difficulty.' . . .

"'O Cuchulainn of the beautiful feats,' said Ferdiad, 'though we have studied arts of equal science, and though I have heard our bonds of friendship, of me shall come thy first wounds; remember not the companionship, O Hound, it shall not avail thee.'

"'Too long have we remained in this way now,' said Ferdiad, 'and what arms shall we resort to to-day, Cuchulainn?' 'Thine this day is the choice of arms till night,' said Cuchulainn; for it was thou who first reached the ford.'

"'Dost thou at all remember,' said Ferdiad, 'the missive weapons we used to practise with Scathach, and with Uathach, and with Aife?' 'I remember them indeed,' said Cuchulainn.

"'If thou rememberest, let us resort [to them,' said Ferdiad.] They resorted to their missive weapons. They took two emblematic missive shields upon them, and their eight turned handled spears, and their eight little quill spears, and their eight ivory-hilted swords, and their eight sharp ivory-hafted spears. They used to fly from them and to them like bees on the wing on a fine day. There was no cast that did not hit. Each continued to shoot at the other with those missiles from the twilight of the early morning to the mean midday, until all their missiles were blunted against the faces and bosses of the missive shields. And although the shooting was most excellent, so good was the defence that neither of them bled or reddened the other during that time."\*

This contest is represented to have continued throughout four days, the feats performed on each of which are fully recorded in the tale. Ferdiad was at length slain, and we are told that the place where he fell was from him named Ferdiad's ford, or *Ath Fhirdiadh*—now Ardee, in Louth.

In connexion with the actions described in the *Táin bó Cuailgne*, there is extant a series of minor tales, in which the same semi-historic per-

\* "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish." By the late Eugene O'Curry. Edited by W. K. Sullivan, Ph.D. 1873. iii., 415-37.

sonages are introduced. One of the most antique of these in style and language is that named *Táin b6 Fraich*, or "the Spoil of the Cows of Froech." In this story are narrated the adventures of the youthful chieftain Froech, on his visit to Cruachan, in Connacht, the abode of King Ailill and Queen Mèv, whose daughter, *Fínd-abair*, "bright-beam," was in love with him. Froech's mother was the fairy Princess *Befínd*, and her sister *Boand* was the ruling fairy of the River *Boand* or Boyne. Book of Leinster.

The following extracts are from the commencement of the story of Froech, in the BOOK OF LEINSTER:—

"Froech, the hero, is the most beautiful of the men of Erin and of Alba [Scotland]. But he was not long-lived. His mother gave him twelve cows out of the *Síd* [Fairly-land]: they are white-eared. He had a good residence till the end of eight years without the bringing of a wife to him. Fifty sons of kings was the number of his household, co-aged, all co-similar to him in form and dress. Erin and Alba were full of his renown and of stories about him. Find-abair, daughter of Ailill and Mèv, loves him for the great stories about him. It is declared to him at his house.

"He discussed that matter with his people. 'Let there be a message then sent to thy mother's sister, so that a [marriage] portion of wondrous robing and of gifts of *Sídi* [fairies] be given thee from her.' He goes accordingly to her, that is, to Boand, until he came to the Plain of Breg, and he carried away fifty blue cloaks, and each of them was like to the fine metal of a work of art, and four black-grey ears on each cloak, and a brooch of red gold with each cloak; and pale-white shirts with loop-animals of gold around them. And fifty silver shields with edges, and a candle of a royal house in the hand of each of the men, and fifty studs of fine metal on each of the shields: fifty knobs of thoroughly burned gold in each of them: pins of carbuncle under them from beneath, and their point of precious stones. They used to light the night as if they were the rays of the sun.

"And fifty swords of gold-hilt with them, and a soft grey mare under the seat of each man, and bits of gold to them: bands of silver with a little bell of gold around the throat of each horse. Fifty horse-ropes of purple, with threads of silver out of them, with drops of gold and of silver, and with head-animals. Fifty whips of fine metal, with a golden hook on the end of each of them. And seven chase-hounds in chains of silver, and an apple of gold between each of them. Greaves of bronze about them: by no means was there any colour which was not in them. Seven trumpeters with them, with golden and silver trumpets, with many-coloured garments, with golden, silken heads of hair, with shining cloaks.

"There were three jesters before them with silver diadems under gilding. Shields with a cover of embroidery with each of them, with black staves with filigrees of bronze along their sides. Three harpers

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with a king's appearance about each of them. They depart for Cruachan with that appearance with them.

"The watchman sees them from the fort when they had come into the Plain of Cruachan. A multitude I see, he says, coming towards the fort in their fulness. Since Ailill and Mèv assumed sovereignty, there came not to them before, and there shall not come to them a multitude, which is more beautiful or which is more distinguished. It is the same with me as if my head were in a vat of wine, with the perfumed breeze that floats over them. The activity and play the young hero who is in it makes—I have not before seen its likeness. He shoots his pole a shot's discharge from him : before it reaches to earth the seven chase-hounds with their seven silver chains catch it.

"At this the hosts come from the fort of Cruachan to view them. The people in the fort hide themselves—sixteen men die [of delight] while viewing them. They alight at the door of the fort. They tent their steeds and they loose the chase-hounds. The hounds chase the seven deer to Rath Cruachan, and seven foxes, and seven hares and seven wild boars, until the youths kill them in the lawn of the fort. After that the chase-hounds dart a leap into [the river] Brei ; they catch seven otters. They brought them to the elevation at the door of the chief-rath. Froech and his suite sit down there.

"A message comes from the King for a parley with them. It is asked whence they came : they name themselves then according to their true names : This, they say, is 'Froech, son of Idath.' The steward tells it to the King and to the Queen. 'Welcome to them,' say Ailill and Mèv. 'It is a noble youth who is in it,' says Ailill, 'let him come into the mansion.' The fourth of the house is set apart to them. This is the array of the house—a septi-range in it ; seven apartments from fire to side wall in the house all round. A rail of bronze to each apartment ; a partitioning of red yew all under variegated planeing.

"Three plates of bronze in the skirting of each apartment. Seven plates of brass from the ceiling to the roof-tree in the house. Of deal the house was made ; a covering of shingle it had externally. There were sixteen windows in the house and a shutting of brass to each of them ; a tie of brass across the roof-light. Four tester poles of brass on the apartment of Ailill and of Mèv, adorned all with bronze, and it in the exact centre of the house. Two rails of silver around it under gilding. In the front a wand of silver that reached the girders of the house. The house was encircled all round from the door to the other. They hang up their arms in that house, and they sit, and welcome is given to them.

"'Welcome to you,' say Ailill and Mèv. 'It is for it we have come,' says Froech. 'It shall not be a habitation for begging contention this,' says Mèv, and Mèv and Ailill arrange the chess-table after that. Froech then takes to the playing of chess with a man of their people. It was a



beauteous chess-table. A board of fine metal in it, with four ears and elbows on it. A candle of precious stone illuminating it for them. Of gold and silver the chess-men on the table. 'Prepare ye food for the youths,' says Ailill. 'That is not my desire,' says Mèv, 'but to go to play the chess yonder against Froech.' 'Get to it; I am pleased,' says Ailill. They and Froech then play the chess. Book of  
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"His people were all cooking the wild animals. 'Let thy harpers play for us,' says Ailill to Froech. 'Let them indeed play,' says Froech. The harps were thus: a harp-bag of the skins of otters about them with their decoration of ruby beneath their adornment of gold and silver. The skin of a roe about them in the middle; it was whiter than snow; black-grey eyes in their centre. Cloaks of linen whiter than a swan's tunic around these ties. These figures accordingly used to run about the men all round. They play for them then, so [exquisitely] that twelve men of their family die with weeping and sadness. Gentle and melodious were this triad; and they were the chants of Uaithne. The illustrious triad are three brothers, namely, *Gol-traiges* [grief-music], and *Gen-traiges* [cheering music], and *Suan-traiges* [sleep-music]. *Boand* from Fairyland is the mother of the triad. From the music played by Uaithne, the harp of the Dagda [Chief Druid] the triad are named. The time the woman was at parturition, it had a cry of sorrow with the soreness of the pangs at first: It was smile and joy it played in the middle for the pleasure of the two sons; a sleep of soothingness which it played was the last son, on account of the heaviness of the birth; so that it is from it the third of the music has been named. The *Boand* awoke afterwards out of the sleep. "I accept," she says, "thy three sons, Oh Uaithne! of full ardour: since there is *Suan-traide*, and *Gen-traide*, and *Gol-traide* on cows and women, who shall fall by Mèv and Ailill; men shall die from the effect of hearing music from them.

"They cease from the playing after that in the palace. 'Divide ye to us,' says Froech to his people, 'the food bring ye it into the house.' Lothar went upon the floor of the house: he divides to them the food. On his haunches he used to divide each joint with his cleaver, and he used not touch the eating of the meats. Since he assumed dividing, food never failed beneath his hand.

"They were three days and three nights at playing of the chess, on account of the abundance of precious stones in the household of Froech. After that Froech addresses Mèv: 'It is well we have been entertained with thee,' he says: 'I take not away thy stake from the chess-board, that there be not a decay of hospitality for thee in it.' 'Since I am in this fort, this is the day which I deem quiet,' says Mèv. 'This is reasonable,' says Froech: 'they are three days and three nights in it.' At this Mèv starts up. It was a shame with her that the youths were without food. She goes to Ailill, she tells it to him. 'A great deed we have done,' she says; 'the extern youths who have come to us, to be without food.' 'Dearer to thee is playing of chess,' says Ailill,

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'It hinders not the distribution to his suite throughout the house. They are three days and three nights in it,' she says, 'but that we perceived not the night with the white light of the precious stones in the house. 'Tell them,' says Ailill, 'to cease from the chanting until distribution is made to them.' Distribution is then made to them, and things are pleasing to them; and they stayed three days and three nights in it after that over the feasting."\*

Next in importance to the *Táin bó Cuailgne* series, among the old Irish semi-historic tales, may be classed that styled *Borama*, or the story of the Cattle-tribute from Leinster. This tribute according to the story, was imposed by Tuathal, King of Erin, in the second century of the Christian era, on the Leinstermen, as a punishment for the conduct of their King, Eochad, who, after having married one of Tuathal's daughters, placed her secretly in restraint, and on pretence of her death, obtained her sister in marriage. A page of the BOOK OF LEINSTER, containing portion of the opening passages of this composition, the language of which is in some parts very obscure, is reproduced on plate LII. The exaction of the *Borama* is chronicled to have been the cause of repeated wars. The character of the story in the BOOK OF LEINSTER in connexion with the *Borama*, may be seen from the following abstract of an account of transactions connected with a battle in the sixth century, between Leinstermen and Ulstermen, at the road or pass of Dunbolg, in the present county of Wicklow.

When Aed, King of Erin, heard that his son Cumascach had been slain for his intrusion upon Leinster, he mustered the forces of Ulster and pitched his camp near the place of his son's death. Brandubh, King of Leinster, on learning of the arrival of this army, moved northward towards his principal fort, Rathbran, near Baltinglas, and sent Bishop Aidan, half-brother of King Aed, to request an armistice. King Aed treated the prelate with indignity, which the latter resented, and predicted his approaching doom. Bishop Aidan then devised a stratagem, and with King Brandubh set out to reconnoitre the hostile camp, accompanied by one hundred and twenty young warriors. On the side of the mountain numerous flocks of birds of various colours seemed to them hovering over the camp, but on nearer approach, they found that these were the standards and ensigns of the Ulstermen, floating from spears and poles over their tents. A rich reward having been offered by the Leinster King to anyone who would make espial in the Ulster camp, the task was undertaken by the chieftain Ron Cer, in the disguise of a leper. He rubbed his body and face over with rye-dough, moistened with the blood of a calf; fixed his knee into the socket of a wooden leg; put on an ample cloak, under which he concealed his sword; and, to complete the deception, he carried with him a beggar's wallet. In this guise he repaired to the royal camp, and presented himself at the door of the monarch's pavilion. He was asked for tidings, and replied:

\*Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy.—Irish MSS. Series. Dublin, 1870.

"I came from Cilbelat; this morning I went to the camp of the Leinstermen, and, in my absence, some persons came and destroyed my cottage and my church, and broke my quern and my spade." The King made answer, that should he himself survive that expedition, he would give him twenty milch cows as *eric*, or compensation for this injury; and, inviting the leper into his pavilion, asked him on what the Leinstermen were engaged. Disguising his voice and martial bearing, the leper replied that they were preparing food for their King and his army. King Aed, however, suspecting from Ron Cer's eye, that he was a warrior sent as a spy, despatched the chief of Oriel with the forces of his territory to prevent a surprise from the Leinstermen.

Meanwhile, Bran Dubh arranged all things for the stratagem planned by Bishop Aidan. He had three thousand six hundred oxen carrying baskets, in which armed soldiers were concealed, though they seemed to be filled with provisions; he had also one hundred and fifty untamed horses, and a huge torch, the light of which was concealed under the regal cauldron. With these he set out, at midnight, for the monarch's camp. When the men of Oriel heard the din and tumult of this host—the snorting of the horses and the lowing of the laden oxen—they started to arms, and challenged the parties advancing. They replied that they were the Leinster camp-attendants, conveying victuals for the people of the King of Erin. The men of Oriel, on examining the tops of the baskets, felt the cooked provisions. Their King then said: "They speak the truth; let them pass." The Leinstermen advanced to the centre of the monarch's camp, and there, on a hill, since called "Candle-hill," they removed the King's cauldron from the great torch, the light of which was then seen far and wide. They were followed by the men of Oriel, who wished to partake of the hospitality of the King of Leinster. "What great light is this we see?" said the monarch to the leper. The leper replied: "The Leinstermen have arrived with their provisions, and this is their light." The stratagem was now carried out. Small bags, filled with stones, were fastened to the tails of the wild horses, which were driven upon the tents of the enemy; the oxen were disencumbered of their burdens, the Leinster soldiers issued from the baskets, grasped their swords, raised their shields, and prepared for the fight. The leper discarded his wooden leg, and drew his sword. The Ulster clans, perceiving that the camp was surprised, sprang up, and forming a rampart of spears and shields around the King of Erin, conveyed him on his steed to Bearna-na Sciath. The leper, Ron Cer, pursued the retreating monarch with a party of Leinstermen, and after a desperate conflict unhorsed him and cut off his head. He then emptied his wallet of the crumbs which he had received in the royal pavilion, put the head of the monarch into it, passed unobserved in the darkness of the night, from the confused fight which ensued, into the wild recesses of the mountain, and remained there till morning. The Leinstermen succeeded in routing the Ulstermen and the men of Oriel,

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with great carnage. On the following day, Ron Cer presented the head of the monarch Aed to King Bran Dubh, who, as a reward, gave him a permanent seat at the royal table, and released his paternal inheritance from tribute for ever.

After the tribute of the *Borama* had been levied by forty kings, its remission is said to have been obtained, towards the close of the seventh century, by Mulling\* or Moling, Bishop of Ferns from Finnachta, surnamed *Fledhach*, or "the festive," King of Ireland, under circumstances described as follows in the story:—

"Mulling came [as an ambassador] from all Leinster to request a remission of the *Borama* from Finnachta. Mulling asked of Finnachta to forgive the *Borama* for a day and a night. Finnachta forgave the *Borama* for a day and a night. This to Mulling was the same as to forgive it for ever, for there is not in time but day and night. But Finnachta thought it was one [natural] day and night. Mulling came forth before him, and said: 'Thou hast given a respite respecting it for ever, and yesterday;' Mulling promised heaven to Finnachta. But Finnachta conceived that Mulling had deceived him, and he said to his people: 'Go,' said he, 'in pursuit of this holy man, who has gone away from me, and say unto him that I have not given respite for the *Borama* to him, but for one day and one night, for methinks the holy man has deceived me, for there is but one day and one night in the whole world.' But when Mulling knew that they were coming in pursuit of him, he ran actively and hastily till he reached his house, and the people of the King did not come up with him at all. Others say that Mulling brought a poem with him to Finnachta, beginning: 'Finnachta [King] over the Race of Niall.' However, the *Borama* was forgiven to Mulling from that till the day of judgment; and though Finnachta was sorry for it, he was not able to levy it, for it was for the sake of [obtaining] heaven he had remitted it.'

Adamnan, the learned Abbot of Iona, biographer and successor of St. Columba, and friend of the venerable Bede, is represented as having endeavoured, about A.D. 692, to incite his kinsman, King Finnachta, to resume the exaction of the tribute. On this subject, the story contains the following passages:—

"In the fifteenth year from the year in which Finnachta had forgiven the *Borama*, Adamnan came to Finnachta after Mulling, and he sent a cleric of his people to Finnachta that he might come to converse with him. Finnachta was then playing chess. 'Come to converse with Adamnan,' said the cleric. 'I will not till this game is finished,' said Finnachta. The cleric returned to Adamnan, and told him the answer of Finnachta. 'Go thou to him, and say to him that I shall sing fifty psalms during that time, and that there is a psalm among that fifty in which I shall pray the Lord that a son or grandson of his, or a man of

\* Four pages from the "Book of Mulling" are reproduced on Plates XX-XXI.

his name, may never assume the sovereignty of Erin.' The cleric accordingly went and told that to Finnachta, but Finnachta took no notice, but played at his chess till the game was finished. 'Come to converse with Adamnan, O Finnachta!' said the cleric. 'I will not go,' said Finnachta, 'till this [next] game is finished.' The cleric told this to Adamnan. 'Say unto him,' said Adamnan, 'that I will sing fifty psalms during that time, and that there is a psalm among that fifty in which I will ask and beseech the Lord to shorten his life for him.' The cleric told this to Finnachta, but Finnachta took no notice of it, but played away at his chess till the game was finished. 'Come to converse with Adamnan,' said the cleric. 'I will not,' said Finnachta, 'till this game is finished.' The cleric told to Adamnan the answer of Finnachta. 'Go to him,' said Adamnan, 'and tell him that I will sing the third fifty psalms, and that there is a psalm in that fifty in which I will beseech the Lord that he may not obtain the kingdom of heaven.' The cleric came to Finnachta and told him this. When Finnachta heard this, he suddenly put away the chess from him, and he came to Adamnan. 'What has brought thee to me now, and why didst thou not come at the other messages?' 'What induced me to come,' said Finnachta, 'was the threats which thou didst hold forth to me, namely, that no son or grandson of mine should ever reign, and that no man of my name should ever assume the sovereignty of Erin, or that I should have shortness of life. I deemed these [threats] light; but when thou didst promise me to take away heaven from me, I then came suddenly, because I cannot endure this.'

'Is it true,' says Adamnan, 'that the Borama was remitted by thee for a day and a night to Mulling?' 'It is true,' said Finnachta. 'Thou hast been deceived,' said Adamnan, 'for this is the same as to remit it for ever.' And he continued to reprove him, and sang this lay:—

To-day, though they bind the locks of the white-haired toothless King,  
The cows which he forgave to Mulling are due to a wiser head.  
Were I Finnachta, and were I Chief of Tara,  
Never would I forgive it; I would not do as he has done.  
Of every King who remits not his tribute, long shall the stories survive.  
Woe to him who gave this respite: to the weak it is sorrow!  
Thy wisdom has ended, and given way to folly.  
Alas for the King who forgave his tributaries, O heavenly Jesus of heaven!  
Feeble is every one who is in dotage: woe to those who follow grey-beards!  
Long is this compact to last; longer till the debts are due!  
Were I a King who sheds blood, I would humble my enemies,  
I would raise up my fortresses, many should be my conflicts,  
Many should be my conflicts: my words should not be false.  
Just should be my compacts, full should be my territories.  
Visible would be my qualities, firm would be my treaties.  
This remission, should it rest with me, I would not grant to Leinstermen.  
I ask a petition from God, that death or danger may not overtake me,  
That Mulling may this day escape, and perish not by point or edge.

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"After this Finnachta placed his head in the bosom of Adamnan, and he did penance in his presence, and Adamnan forgave him for the remission of the Borama."

More recent in age is the historical piece in the BOOK OF LEINSTER on the contests between the Norsemen and the Irish, styled in Gaelic *Cogad Gaedhil re Gallaibh*, or "the War of the Gaels against the foreigners." Of portions of this piece, which are missing from the BOOK OF LEINSTER, transcripts have fortunately been found in the Library of the Dukes of Burgundy, at Brussels. The author of the composition describes the memorable battle fought on the shores of Clontarf, near Dublin, on Good Friday, the 23rd of April, A.D. 1014, between the Norsemen and the Irish, the latter under the command of the aged King Brian, surnamed *Borumha*, or "of the Tribute," and his son Murragh or Murragh O'Brien, and the death of his father, Brian, in the moment of victory :—

"To return, however, to Murragh, son of Brian. When he had passed through the battalions of the foreigners, accompanied by the champions of the *Dál Cais*,\* there was a party of soldiers of the foreigners still before him, who had not rushed into the sea as yet, who retained their senses and their memories, and who preferred enduring any amount of suffering rather than drowning. It was then that Murragh perceived Siucraid, son of Lotar, Earl of the Isles of Orkney, in the midst of the battalion of the *Dál Cais*, slaughtering and mutilating them; and his fury among them was that of a robber upon a plain; and neither pointed nor any kind of edged weapon could harm him; and there was no strength that yielded not, nor thickness that became not thin. Then Murragh made a violent rush at him, and dealt him a fierce, powerful, crushing blow from the valiant, death-dealing, active right hand, in the direction of his neck, and the fastenings of the foreign, hateful helmet that was on his head, so that he cut the buttons, and the fastenings, and the clasps, and the buckles that were fastening the helmet; and he brought the sword of the graceful left hand to hew and main him after the helmet had fallen backwards from him; and he cut his neck, and felled that brave hero with two tremendous, well-aimed blows, in that manner.

"Then came the heroic, valiant, noble, renowned warrior, the son of Ebric, son of the King of Lochlann [Scandinavia] into the bosom and centre of the *Dál Cais*, and it was the clear stage of a warrior, and the breach of a hero was opened for him wherever he went; and he trampled to a litter one end of the battalion, dealing in all directions fierce, barbarous strokes, and victorious irresistible blows. Murragh perceived this, and it was a heart-ache to him, and he turned obliquely upon the battalions of the mailed-men, and killed fifteen foreigners on his right, and fifteen on his left who were mail-clad, until he reached Ebric, the son of the King of Lochlann, for he was the head of the valour and

\* *Dal g-Cais*, or *Dalcassians*—descendants of King Cas—the name applied to King Brian's tribe.

bravery of the army of Lochlann, and of all the foreigners also. And they fought a stout, furious, bloody, crimson combat, and a fierce, vehement, rough, boisterous, implacable battle. And the sword of Murragh at that time was inlaid with ornament, and the inlaying that was in it melted with the excessive heat of the striking, and the burning sword cleft his hand, tearing the fork of his fist. He perceived that, and cast the sword from him, and he laid hold of the top of the foreigner's head, and pulled his coat of mail over his head forward, and they then fought a wrestling combat. Then Murragh put the foreigner down under him, by the force of wrestling, and then he caught the foreigner's own sword and thrust it into the ribs of the foreigner's breast, until it reached the ground through him three times. The foreigner then drew his knife, and with it gave Murragh such a cut that the whole of his entrails were cut out, and they fell to the ground before him. Then did shiverings and faintings descend on Murragh, and he had not power to move, so that they fell by each other there, the foreigner and Murragh. But, at the same time, Murragh cut off the foreigner's head. And Murragh did not die that night, nor until sunrise the next day; until he had received absolution and Communion and penance, and until he had partaken of the body of Christ, and until he had made his confession and his will.

"Let us speak now of the adventures of [King] Brian during this time. When the forces met in combat his carpet was spread under him, and he opens his psalter; and he began to clasp his hands and to pray after the battle had commenced; and there was no one with him but his own attendant, whose name was Latean. Brian said to the attendant watch thou the battles and the combats, whilst I sing the psalms. He sang fifty psalms, and fifty prayers, and fifty paternosters, and he asked the attendant after that what the condition of the battalions was. The attendant answered and said, 'Mixed and closely confounded are the battalions, and each of them has come within the grasp of the other; and not louder in my ears would be the echoes of blows from Tomar's Wood, if seven battalions were cutting it down, than are the resounding blows upon heads, and bones, and skulls, on both sides.' Then he asked what was the condition of Murragh's standard; and the attendant said—'It is standing, surrounded by many of the banners of *Dál Cais*; and many heads are falling around it, and a multitude of trophies, and spoils, and heads of foreigners along with it.' That is good news, indeed, said Brian. His carpet was re-adjusted under him, and he sang the psalms, and the prayers, and the paters, in the same manner as before. And he asked of the attendant, again, what the condition of the battalions was; and the attendant answered and said—'There is not living on earth one who could distinguish one of them from the other. For the greater part of the hosts at either side are fallen, and those who are alive are so covered with spattering of the crimson blood, head, body, and vesture that a father could not know his son from any other of them, so confounded are they.' He then asked what was the condition of

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Murragh's standard. The attendant said that it was far from him [Murragh], and that it passed through the battalions westwards, and was still standing. Brian said, 'The men of Erin shall be well while that standard remains standing, because their courage and valour shall remain in them all as long as they can see that standard.' His carpet was re-adjusted under Brian, and he sang fifty psalms, and fifty prayers, and fifty paters; and the fighting continued all that time. He asked then of the attendant in what state were the forces? The attendant answered—'They appear to me the same as if Tomar's Wood was on fire, and the seven battalions had been cutting away its underwood and its young shoots for a month, leaving its stately trees and its immense oaks standing. In such manner are the armies on either side, after the greater part of them have fallen, leaving a few brave men and gallant heroes only standing. Their further condition is, they are wounded, and pierced through, and dismembered; and they are disorganized all round like the grindings of a mill turning the wrong way, and the foreigners are now defeated, and Murragh's standard has fallen.' 'That is sad news,' said Brian. 'On my word,' said he, 'the honour and valour of Erin fell when that standard fell; and Erin has fallen now, indeed; and never shall there appear henceforth a champion comparable to or like to that champion. And what avails it me to survive this, or that I should obtain the sovereignty of the world after the fall of Murragh, and Conain, and the other nobles of the *Dál Cais*; in like manner.' 'Woe is me!' said the attendant, 'if thou wouldst take my advice, thou wouldst mount thy horse, and we would go to the camp, and remain there amongst the servants; and every one who escapes this battle will come unto us, and around us will they all rally. Besides, the battalions are now mixed together in confusion; and a party of the foreigners have rejected the idea of retreating to the sea; and we know not who may approach us where we now are.' 'O God! thou boy,' said Brian, 'retreat becomes us not, and I myself know that I shall not leave this place alive; and what would it profit me if I did? For Aibhell [the fairy] of Craig Liath, came to me last night,' said he, 'and she told me that I should be killed this day; and she said to me that the first of my sons I should see this day would be he who should succeed me in the sovereignty; and that is Donnchadh; and go thou, Laidean,' said he, 'and take these steeds with thee, and receive my blessing; and carry out my will after me, namely:—My body and my soul to God and to Saint Patrick, and that I am to be carried to Ard Macha [Armagh]; and my blessing to Donnchadh for discharging my last bequests after me, namely:—Twelve score cows to be given to the successor [Comharba] of Patrick, and the community of Ard Macha [Armagh]; and its own proper dues to Cill da Lua [Killaloe], and the Churches of Munster; and he knows that I have not wealth of gold or silver, but he is to pay them in return for my blessing, and for his succeeding me. Go this night to Sord, and desire them to come



to-morrow early, for my body, and to convey it from thence to Damhliag [Duleek], of [Saint] Cianan; and then let them carry it to Lughmhagh [Louth]; and let Maelmuire Mac Eochadha, the successor [Comharba] of Patrick, and the community of Ard Macha come to meet me at Lughmhagh.' Book of  
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"While they were engaged in this conversation the attendant perceived a party of the foreigners approaching them. The Earl Brodar was there, and two warriors along with him. 'There are people coming towards us here,' said the attendant. 'What manner of people are they?' said Brian. 'A blue stark-naked people,' said the attendant. 'Alas!' said Brian, 'they are the foreigners of the armour, and it is not to do good to thee they come.' While he was saying this, he arose and stepped off the carpet, and unsheathed his sword. Brodar passed him by and noticed him not. One of the three who were there, and who had been in Brian's service, said 'King, King—this is the King.' 'No, no, but Priest, Priest,' said Brodar; 'It is not he,' says he, 'but a noble priest.' 'By no means,' said the soldier, 'that is the great King Brian.' Brodar then turned round, and appeared with a bright, gleaming, trusty battle-axe in his hand, with the handle set in the middle of it. When Brian saw him he gazed at him, and gave him a stroke with his sword, and cut off his left leg at the knee, and his right leg at the foot. The foreigner dealt Brian a stroke which cleft his head utterly; and Brian killed the second man that was with Brodar, and they fell both by each other.

"There was not done in Erin, since Christianity, excepting the beheading of [the King-Bishop] Cormac Mac Cuilennain, any worse deed than this. In fact he [Brian] was one of the three best that ever were born in Erin; and one of the three men who most caused Erin to prosper, namely, Lugh Lamha-fada, and Finn Mac Cumhaill, and Brian Mac Ceinneidigh. For it was he that released the men of Erin, and its women, from the bondage and iniquity of the foreigners and the pirates. It was he that gained five-and-twenty battles over the foreigners, and who killed and banished them as we have already said. He was the beautiful, ever-victorious Octavianus, for the prosperity and freedom of his country and his race. He was the strong, irresistible, second Alexander for energy, and for dignity, and for attacks, and for battles, and for triumphs. And he was the happy, wealthy, peaceable Solomon of the Gaels. He was the faithful, fervent, honourable, gallant David of Erin, for truthfulness, and for worthiness, and for the maintenance of sovereignty. He was the magnificent, brilliant Moses, for chastity, and unostentatious devotion.

"However, that illustrious, all-victorious King, fell by the foreigners, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, and in the thirty-eighth year of his reign in Mumhain [Munster], and in his twelfth year in the chief sovereignty of Erin. In short, Erin fell by the death of Brian; and the predictions

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came to pass, and the prophecies were fulfilled to Erin, according to the saints and the righteous ones."\*

The accuracy of portion of this narrative has been established by independent calculations made by the Rev. Samuel Haughton, Professor of Geology in Trinity College, Dublin. From these, in connexion with an elaborate series of meteorological and tidal observations taken on the Irish coasts, it has been found that the morning tide along the Clontarf shore could not have differed many minutes, on the 23rd of April, 1014, from 5h. 30m.; the evening tide being full in at 5h. 55m. "In the narrative," observes Dr. Haughton, "the full tide in the morning is said to have coincided with the sunrise: and as the sun rises from 5h. 30m. to 4h. 30m. in the month of April, the truthfulness of the narrative becomes strikingly evident." "This calculation," he adds, "appears to establish conclusively that portions of the narrative, at least, must have been written from the testimony of actual eye-witnesses, as none others could have invented the fact that the battle began at sunrise, and that the tide was then full in. The importance of the time of tide became evident at the close of the battle at 6 P.M., when the return tide prevented the escape of the Danes from the Clontarf shore to the north bank of the Liffey."

With the foregoing account of the contest at Clontarf—so disastrous to the Norse power in Ireland—may be compared the Icelandic narrative embodied in the "Nials Saga." This story, the most interesting and perfect of its class, is conjectured to have been cast in its present mould towards the year 1200, and the following extracts from it, in connexion with "Brian's Battle," are from the admirable English version by Sir George W. Dasent:—

"The Earl [Sigurd] came with all his host on Palm Sunday to Dublin, and there too was come Brodir with all his host. Brodir tried by sorcery how the fight would go, but the answer ran thus, that if the fight were on Good-Friday King Brian would fall but win the day; but if they fought before, they would all fall who were against him. Then Brodir said that they must not fight before the Friday. On the fifth day of the week a man rode up to [Queen] Kormlada and her company on an apple-grey horse, and in his hand he held a halberd; he talked long with them. King Brian came with all his host to the Burg, and on the Friday the host fared out of the Burg, and both armies were drawn up in array. Brodir was on one wing of the battle, but King Sigtrygg on the other. Earl Sigurd was in the mid battle. Now it must be told of King Brian that he would not fight on the fast-day, and so a shieldburg [a ring of men holding their shields locked together] was thrown round him, and his host was drawn up in array in front of it. Wolf the quarrelsome was on that wing of the battle against which Brodir stood; but on the

\* "The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill." By J. H. Todd, D.D. London: Longmans, 1867.

other wing, where Sigtrygg stood against them, were Ospak and his sons. But in ~~mid~~ battle was Kerthialfad, and before him the banners were borne. Now the wings fall on one another, and there was a very hard fight. Brodir went through the host of the foe, and felled all the foremost that stood there, but no steel would bite on his mail. Wolf the quarrelsome turned then to meet him, and thrust at him thrice so hard that Brodir fell before him at each thrust, and was well-nigh not getting on his feet again; but as soon as ever he found his feet, he fled away into the wood at once. Earl Sigurd had a hard battle against Kerthialfad, and Kerthialfad came on so fast that he laid low all who were in the front rank, and he broke the array of Earl Sigurd right up to his banner, and slew the banner-bearer. Then he got another man to bear the banner, and there was again a hard fight. Kerthialfad smote this man too his death blow at once, and so on one after the other all who stood near him. Then Earl Sigurd called on Thorstein the son of Hall of the Side, to bear the banner, and Thorstein was just about to lift the banner, but then Asmund the white said—‘Don’t bear the banner! for all they who bear it get their death.’ ‘Hrafn the red!’ called out Earl Sigurd, ‘Bear thou the banner.’ ‘Bear thine own devil thyself,’ answered Hrafn. Then the Earl said—‘Tis fittest that the beggar should bear the bag,’ and with that he took the banner from the staff and put it under his cloak. A little after, Asmund the white was slain, and then the Earl was pierced through with a spear. Ospak had gone through all the battle on his wing, he had been sore wounded, and lost both his sons ere King Sigtrygg fled before him. Then flight broke out throughout all the host. Thorstein Hall of the Side’s son stood still while all the others fled, and tied his shoe-string. Then Kerthialfad asked why he ran not as the others. ‘Because,’ said Thorstein, ‘I can’t get home to-night, since I am at home out in Iceland.’ Kerthialfad gave him peace. Hrafn the red was chased out into a certain river; he thought he saw there the pains of hell down below him, and he thought the devils wanted to drag him to them. Then Hrafn said—‘Thy dog, Apostle Peter! hath run twice to Rome, and he would run the third time if thou gavest him leave.’ Then the devils let him loose, and Hrafn got across the river. Now Brodir saw that King Brian’s men were chasing the fleers, and that there were few men by the shieldburg. Then he rushed out of the wood, and broke through the shieldburg, and hewed at the King. The lad Takt threw his arm in the way, and the stroke took it off and the King’s head too, but the King’s blood came on the lad’s stump, and the stump was healed by it on the spot. Then Brodir called out with a loud voice—‘Now let man tell man that Brodir felled Brian.’ Then men ran after those who were chasing the fleers, and they were told that King Brian had fallen, and then they turned back straightway, both Wolf the quarrelsome and Kerthialfad. Then they threw a ring round Brodir and his men, and threw branches of trees upon them, and so Brodir was taken alive. Wolf the quarrelsome cut open his belly, and led him round and

Book of  
Leinster.

Book of  
Leinster.

round the trunk of a tree, and so wound all his entrails out of him, and he did not die before they were all drawn out of him. Brodir's men were slain to a man. After that they took King Brian's body and laid it out. The King's head had grown fast to the trunk. Fifteen men of the Burners fell in Brian's battle, and then too fell Halldor, the son of Gudmund the powerful, and Erling of Straumey."

The character of the genealogical tables, contained in the **BOOK OF LEINSTER**, is exhibited by the reproduction, on Plate LV., of a page which, commencing with St. Patrick and St. Brigit, gives the pedigrees of saints, ecclesiastics, and others.

Some portions of the **BOOK OF LEINSTER** are now blackened, discoloured, and in bad condition. It was for a time known as the "Book of Glendaloch," and lay for many years unnoticed and almost unknown in the MSS. repository of Trinity College, Dublin. On the successful completion, under my care, of the facsimiles of the two ancient Irish manuscript volumes styled *Leabhar na h-Uidhri* and *Leabhar Breac*, I was enabled to arrange that their publication should be followed by the reproduction in facsimile of the **BOOK OF LEINSTER**, in its entirety, at the joint expense of the Royal Irish Academy and Trinity College, Dublin. This work, commenced under my superintendence, and now completed, will for the first time render accessible to the public the largest and perhaps the most valuable collection surviving, both in prose and verse, of ancient Gaelic literature.

Saltair  
Na Rann.

LVI.—LVIII.—**SALTAIR NA RANN**. The Gaelic manuscript styled **SALTAIR NA RANN**, or Psalter of Verses, now in the Bodleian Library, is a fragment of a volume compiled from old documents and transcribed apparently towards the close of the twelfth century. The writing is in light and elegant angular Irish characters. Throughout the first part of the manuscript there are several ornamental interlaced capital letters, varying from two to three inches in length, and coloured in purple, red, and yellow. Vermillion and purple are the prevailing colours, but green and white occasionally appear.

The book received the name it now bears from the series of pieces entitled **SALTAIR NA RANN**, or Psalter of Poems, opening on its present first page, and composed by Oengus surnamed Céle Dé, an Irish writer of the eighth century. This Psalter contains a compendium of the History of the Old Testament, written in Gaelic verse, and comprises a number of short poems relating to Scriptural subjects and Ancient History. The first poem is on the omnipotence and other attributes of God, the creation, the elements, the firmament, the planets, stars, signs of the zodiac, the course of the sun, and the ancient system of astronomy. The second poem describes the heavenly city, the throne of God, and the celestial orders. The creation of angels and archangels, and the fall of Lucifer, are described in the third poem. In the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, the poet treats of the torments of Hell, the creation of Adam and Eve, the delights of Paradise, the forbidden fruit, the temptation of Eve, and

the fall of man. These are followed by a poetical version of the Pandect, or Bibliotheca, of St. Jerome, embodying accounts of the conquests of the world, its genealogical branchings, various races, number of languages, names of chiefs, the ages of the world and the duration of each period. On folio 41, commences a tractate on the six ages of the world, partly translated from Bede, and followed by Irish poems on the Pandect, the ramifications of the race of Adam, the geography of the old world, the Exodus, the Kings of Jerusalem, and the arrangement of the Psalms of David.

The volume also contains the *Amra*, or Praises of St. Columba. This poem is said to have been composed in gratitude to Columba for his successful interposition with his kinsman, Aed, King of Ireland, on behalf of the Irish poets, at a convention held at Drumceat, near Derry, in A.D. 575. The poets and their followers had, it is said, become intolerably numerous and exacting, and their total suppression had consequently been in contemplation. The King, however, is represented to have been induced, through the influence of Columba, to consent to a compromise based on a specified limitation of their number and demands. The authorship of the *Amra* is ascribed to Columba's contemporary Eochaid Forgaill, surnamed *Dallan*, or "the Blind." It has always been regarded as one of the most intricate and obscure productions extant in the ancient Irish language, and peculiar advantages, both spiritual and temporal, were formerly believed to be derivable from its recitation. The learned Colgan, in 1645, referred as follows to *Dallan* and the *Amra*:—

"Dallanus. Cæcus appellatus est. Scripsit patrio sermone, veterique stylo, diversa opuscula, quæ sæculis posterioribus à multis, alioquin in veteri patrio idiomate et antiquitate versatis haud facile penetrari possunt; et hinc à peritioribus antiquariis, fuis illustrantur commentariis et tanquam rara nostræ priscae linguae et antiquitatis monumenta in scholis antiquariorum gentis nostræ prælegi et exponi consueverunt. Inter hæc est unus panegiricus seu rythmus, in magno pretio nunc et semper habitus, de laudibus S. Columbæ, intitulatus *Amra Choluim Chille*, i.e., laudes Columbæ à cellis."

The character of the composition is exhibited by the following English version of extracts from its opening:—

"The place for this preface, firstly, is *Druimm Ceta*, for it is in it was made the great meeting of *Druimm Ceta*: in a different place, however, was made the body of the hymn from that forth, as appears after. In the time of Aed, son of Anmère, it was made: author—*Dallan Forgaill* of the *Masraige* of *Mag Slecht*: cause—for reaching of Heaven for himself and for others through it. Now there are three causes for which *Colum Cille* came from *Alba* [Scotland] to *Erin* that time—namely, for the releasing of *Scanlann Mòr*, son of *Cend Faelad*, King of the *Ossorians*, with whom he went in pledgedship: and for the staying of the poets in *Erin*, for they were in banishment on account of their burdensomeness, for there used to be thirty in the company of each *Ollam* [chief poet],

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**Saltair Na Rann.** and fifteen in the company of each *Anrad* [poet of the second grade]: and for pacification between the men of Erin and of Alba about Dal Riata. And they say that Colum Cille by no means saw Erin that time, for there used to be a bandage over his eyes; and it is it that caused that, because he promised before that, at going past it, that he would not view Erin from that forth, saying:—

‘There is a grey eye  
That will view Erin backwards:  
By no means will it see afterwards  
The men of Erin or its women.’

“Colum Cille then came to the assembly, and several rose up before him for welcome to him. According to another tradition, however, there rose not up one before him but Domnall, the King’s son, for the King said that there should not rise up one before him; for he knew that about which he had come, and his coming was not thought well of by him for the staying of the poets, or the releasing of Scanlann was not pleasing to him. So that it is then Colum Cille blessed this Domnall, because he was reverent to that extent. . . . The poets after that came into the assembly and a poem of praising with them for him, and *aidbsi* [chorus] is the name of that music; and a surpassing music it was, as Colman Mac Lenene said:—

‘Blackbirds beside swans, ounces beside masses,  
Forms of peasant women beside forms of queens,  
Kings beside Domnall, a murmur beside a chorus,  
A taper beside a candle—a sword beside my sword.’

“And together they used to make that music. Pride of mind came for Colum Cille so that the sky above his head was full of demons. This was manifested to Baithene; and he rebuked Colum Cille. And the latter brought his head under cover, and he did penance; and he raised after that his head from its cover and a great fog sprang from his head, and the demons scattered from it before that fog. And twelve hundred was the number of the poets. . . . So that Colum Cille after that stayed the poets.\*

“The refecton of the poets was after that made over Erin, and their

\* “*Amra Choluim Chilli.*” By J. O’B. Crowe. Dublin: 1871. The preface to the *Amra* also contains the following in reference to the poets:—

“And they had a cauldron, *coire sainte* (cauldron of covetousness) was its name. Each of their companies had a cauldron, and it was a cauldron of white silver, and there were nine chains of brass from each cauldron, and there was a hook of gold on each chain, and the reason it was called cauldron of covetousness is, that they used to put into it all the gold and silver they got. Or it was called *coire sainithi* (cauldron of pleasantness) because they used to drink pleasant ale out of it, and the nine best of the company were playing melody around it, while the poem was being sung.”

In the Book of Leinster, Glasdan, the satirist of the son of the King of Erin, is represented as accompanied by his nine attendant satirists, demanding as his right special joints and viands from the cooks of Bran Dubh, King of Leinster.

The ancient Irish Glossary ascribed to Cormac, who flourished in the ninth century, mentions that “it was of skins of birds, white and many colored, that the poet’s robe was made from their girdle downwards, and of mallard’s necks and of their crests from their

companies were then diminished to twenty-four in the company of the Chief Poet, and twelve in the company of the Poet of the second grade. Saltair Na Rann.

“And Colum Cille said, it was he who would make pacification between the men of Erin and of Alba [Scotland]; and this is the judgment he gave:—‘Their expedition and their hosting with the men of Erin always,’ for their’s is hosting with territories always: ‘their tribute and their exaction with the men of Alba’; or, ‘their sea gathering only with the men of Alba, but from that forth with the men of Erin.’

“Then Dallan, Chief Poet of Erin at that time, came to converse with Colum Cille, so that it was then he recited the preface [*remfocul*] for him: and Colum Cille did not allow him the making of it beyond that, that he should make it in the time of his death; for he said, to one dead it was fitting: and it is of headlets [*capitula*] Dallan proceeded to make his poem. Now Colum Cille promised to Dallan the gifts and products of the earth for this praising, and he did not take them, but [asked] heaven for himself and for every one who would recite it each day, and would understand it between sense and sound, as a certain one said:—

Colum's *Amra*—every day  
Whoever will recite it completely,  
Shall reach the good bright kingdom  
Which God granted to Dallan.

“Now three signs Colum Cille gave him the time he should make it—namely a rider of a speckled steed would announce to him the death of Colum Cille, and the first word the rider would utter, that it was to be the beginning of the praising, and that his eyes would be allowed to him, while he should be at the making of it. At Feni's Ford again in Mide [Meath] this praising was made, as Mael Suthain said. Ferdornach, however, successor of Colum Cille, declares it is behind Assa's Way it was chanted, from where the Fort of the Balustrades is to the Cross at Lomman's House. *Anamain* between two *Ashes* this; that is, *Ash* in the beginning of the praising, and *Ash* in its ending; namely, *Ni di[s] sceoil* and *Nimuin*. Or it is *fork of two*, that is, bi-rhyming narration; that is, to begin two sounds or three from one tree still; that is one after another; and a sound from a tree which is different after that.

girdle upwards to their neck.” The Glossary also defines *Boge* as a hand vessel weighing five ounces of pure gold, given as a prize to *Ollamhs*, or chief poets.

In connexion with Cronan, a Gaelic poet of St. Columba's time, the following is narrated by Adamnan:—

“*Alio in tempore, Sanctus [Columba], cum juxta stagnum Cei, prope ostium flumini quod latine Bos dicitur, die aliqua cum fratribus sederet, quidam ad eos Scoticus poeta devenit; qui cum post aliquam recessisset sermocinationem, fratres ad Sanctum, Cur, aiunt, a nobis regrediente Cronano poeta aliquod ex more sue artis canticum non postulasti modulabiliter decantari? Quibus Sanctus, Quare et vos nunc inutilia profertis verba? quomodo ab illo misero homuncione carmen postularem lætitiæ qui nunc, ab inimicis trucidatus, finem ad usque oculus pervenit vitæ. His a Sancto dictis, et ecce ultra flumen aliquis clamat homo dicens, Ille poeta, qui a vobis nuper sospes rediit, hora in hac ab inimicis in via interfectus est. Omnes tunc qui præsentibus inerant valde mirati, se invicem intuentes obstupere.*” Adamnan's Life of St. Columba. By W. Reeves, D.D., 1857.

Saltair Na  
Rann.

“ ‘*Dia, Dia,*’ ‘God, God,’ etc. It is why he doubles the first word—on account of the rapidity and avidity of the praising, as is, *Deus, Deus, Deus meus*, etc. But the name of that with the Gael is, ‘return to a usual sound’; for there be three similar standards of expression with the poets of the Gaels; that is *re-return to a usual sound*, and *re-narration mode*, and *re-duplication*, and this is the mark of each of them. The ‘return,’ indeed, is a doubling of one word in one place in the round, without adhering to it from that forth. The ‘re-narration mode,’ again is re-narrating from a like mode, that is, the one word—to say it frequently in the round, with an intervention of other words between them, as is this :

Came the foam [which] the plain filters,  
Came the ox through fifty warriors;  
[So] came the keen, active youth,  
[Whom] brown Cu Dinisc left.

“But ‘re-duplication’ is, namely, ‘re-folding’; that is ‘bi-geminating,’ as is this :

I ask, I ask, after long, long,  
To be in pain, pain, not peace, peace:  
Like each, each, till judgment, judgment,  
In each time, time, though fatigue, fatigue.

“Two divisions of these in this preface: ‘return to a usual sound,’ and ‘re-narration mode,’ but ‘re-narration mode,’ only in the body of the hymn.”

Some pages of the SALTAIR NA RANN are occupied with genealogical tables, two of which are reproduced on plates LVI.-LVII. Each of those pages presents seven columns of genealogies, principally of septs of Leinster and Connacht. The manuscript also contains pieces in prose and verse relating to ancient Kings and dynasts of Leinster, Meath, and Munster, with some entries relating to Kings of Scotland. On plate LVIII. is given a page containing part of a metrical piece on the origin of the Leinstermen, and the career of their King Labrad, styled Long-seach, or “the Mariner,” who is said to have introduced, at a remote period, a colony into Ireland from Gaul, where he had for a time taken refuge. This composition is ascribed to the poet, Finn, son of Ross, King of Leinster, towards the first century of the Christian era. The language of the poem is very archaic and much obscured, as well by the peculiar and unusual metre in which it is written as by its references to transactions the full details of which are not now known.

We cannot now tell of how many pages this elegantly written manuscript of SALTAIR NA RANN originally consisted, or by whom it was transcribed. But it may be observed that in some places the transcriber notes that he had derived materials from the “Psalter of Cashel,” a book not now known to exist. The surviving leaves of the SALTAIR NA RANN are seventy in number, bound up many years ago with other writings of various ages and classes. The last page of the manuscript is much faded,



and part of it almost illegible from attrition and ill-treatment in former Saltair Na Rann.  
times.

LIX.-LXI.—GAELIC CHARTERS.—These transcripts of documents Gaelic Charters.  
connected with the property of the ancient church of St. Columba or Colum Cille at Kells, in the County of Meath, are inscribed on three pages originally left blank in the Book of Kells, already described. The first charter—executed circa A.D. 1080—is the record of a grant of the land styled *Disert Colum Cille*\* in Kells, “to God and pious Pilgrims.” This is followed by particulars relating to grounds which the priest of Kells and his kinsman had purchased for twenty ounces of gold. In the third charter are embodied details relative to the freedom of Cille Delga, now known as Kildalkey, in the County of Meath, with its sureties and guarantees, towards the middle of the eleventh century. The fourth instrument is a memorandum with respect to the purchase of a *land*, house, or repository. In the fifth are given details on the freedom of Ardbraccan, in Meath, granted by the King of Ireland, about A.D. 1170. The sixth embodies particulars as to the purchase of ground near Athacatin for twenty-four ounces of silver. These charters are evidences that, prior to the Anglo-Norman descent, the Irish were accustomed to execute in their own language legal instruments containing covenants to bind their successors.

LXII. 1.—CHARTER FROM KING DERMOD MAC MURRAGH.—By Charter from King Dermod Mac Murragh.  
this charter, Dermod, King of the Leinstermen, ratified, circa A.D. 1169, the grant of land which his sub-chief Dermod O’Rian, lord of Idrone, had made to Felix, Abbot of Ossory, for the construction of a Benedictine monastery at Duisk, now Graigenemanagh, in the County of Kilkenny. Severe penalties are denounced in this charter against those who should attempt to injure the monks, their monastery, or granges. The instrument is dated at Belachgauran and attested by Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin; Donogh, Bishop of Leighlin; Felix, Abbot of Ossory; together with King Dermod’s sons, Murchadh and Domnall Cavanach; and others. The writing is heavy and solid, and the document is in excellent preservation.

LXII. 2.—FOUNDATION CHARTER OF HOLY CROSS ABBEY FROM KING Charter from King Donall O’Brien.  
DONALL O’BRIEN.—Donall O’Brien, surnamed *Mór*, or the Great, became King of North Munster in 1168, soon after which he appears to have executed this charter granting lands and their appurtenances for the foundation of a Benedictine Abbey, in honor of the Holy Cross, in Tipperary. Among the witnesses are Christian, Bishop of Lismore, Legate of the Apostolic See in Ireland; Maurice, Archbishop of Cashel; and the founder’s kinsman, Donogh O’Brien, Bishop of Limerick. Donall O’Brien married a daughter of King Dermod Mac Murragh, and acted for a time in alliance with the Anglo-Normans, but subsequently opposed them and burned Limerick. He was successful in the field

\* Disert—Latinized *desertus locus* and *desertum*, was used in old Gaelic writings to signify a hermitage or asylum for penitents or pilgrims.

against the Anglo-Normans on several occasions, and died King of Munster in 1194. Cambrensis, who styles him Prince of Thomond, declares him to have been an unfaithful ally of the Anglo-Normans; but the Irish chroniclers describe him as "A beaming lamp of peace and war, the brilliant star of the hospitality and valor of all Munster." An engraving, representing King Donall O'Brien on horseback brandishing a sword, with the city of Limerick in the back ground, surmounted with a regal crown, was published at Sulzbach in 1666. The writing of this Munster charter differs, it will be seen, in style from that of the King of Leinster, the characters being lighter and more elongated.

The two preceding documents are the only original Latin charters extant executed by native Irish dynasts antecedent to the Anglo-Norman settlement, and they are the first and sole specimens of this class hitherto reproduced in facsimile.

With these plates we here close our specimens of the manuscripts of Ireland anterior to the Anglo-Norman settlement, towards the close of the twelfth century. From that period we shall have to consider not only documents of the native Irish but also those of the Anglo-Normans and others who settled in or had relations with Ireland.

Dublin  
Charter  
from  
Henry II.

LXIII. 1.—DUBLIN CHARTER FROM HENRY II.—This is the oldest original Anglo-Norman document connected with Ireland now extant. By it Henry granted to his men of Bristol the city of Dublin, to be held from him with free customs and liberties similar to those of Bristol. The execution of this charter may be assigned to the period between November A.D. 1171, and the ensuing March, during which time Henry sojourned at Dublin. This highly important document is now preserved among the muniments of the city of Dublin. It is of small size, being only six-and-a-half inches in length, by five in breadth. A considerable fragment of the original seal, much discolored by age, is still attached to it.

Charter  
from Earl  
Richard  
Fitz Gislebert.

LXIII. 2.—CHARTER FROM RICHARD FITZ GISLEBERT, SURNAMED "STRONGBOW." In this charter, executed about A.D. 1172, Fitz Gislebert de Clare granted to Adam de Hereford half of the town of Achebo, and the half-cantred of land in Ossory, in which it lay, to be held by service of five knights. Amongst the witnesses to the grant is included Raymond, surnamed "Le Gros," who married Strongbow's sister, Basilia, as hereafter noticed in connexion with Plate LXXXVII. From this grant is still pendant a large portion of an impression of the seal of Fitz Gislebert in wax originally green—inscribed, "Sigillum Ricardi filii comitis Gisleberti." On the obverse, a mounted knight, with a triangular shield, brandishes a sword. On the reverse stands a man-at-arms, in a surcoat bearing the device of De Clare, with his right foot in advance, and his right hand pushing forward a spear.

Dublin  
Roll of  
Names.

LXIV.—DUBLIN ROLL OF NAMES, CIRCA A.D. 1172.—This document, which I have styled "Dublin Roll of Names," now consists of six parchment membranes, of about twenty inches in length by nine in width,

written on both sides. The first of these surviving membranes contains neither title nor heading, and bears traces of having been long carelessly treated. Portions of its front are discolored and obliterated, while its back has acquired a dark brown hue, and has been in some places rendered rough and illegible by friction. Dublin  
Roll of  
Names.

This Roll formed the wrapper of a bundle of parchments which I found, in 1866, among the then un-arranged muniments of the Municipal Corporation of Dublin. The bundle contained several other membranes, which, from the style of the writing and the nature of the entries, appeared to be in sequence to the six membranes in which they were wrapped.

No entries specificatory of their age, class, or locality, are to be found in the six membranes ; but, from palæographic and other characteristics, I assigned them to the latter part of the twelfth century. In this opinion I was supported by the high authority of Sir T. Duffus Hardy, late Deputy Keeper of the Public Records in England, who carefully examined the document with me. The usual obscurity of members of ancient guilds, or civic communities, constituted an impediment towards the establishment of the precise age of this Roll by entries extant elsewhere in connexion with the individuals registered on it ; and few records of so early a period relating to Ireland now survive. However, through independent external materials, chiefly in England, I succeeded in synchronizing persons whose names are entered on the present fifth and sixth membranes of this document with the early stages of Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland, in connexion with which it thus appears to be the most ancient Roll extant. This result is supported by a partly torn heading of the twelfth membrane, indicating the latter to be a Dublin Guild-Merchant Roll ; while on its fractured corner a name has fortunately survived which enabled me to bring its date to the close of the twelfth century. A further confirmation of this view is derived from the shattered heading of the fourteenth membrane ; and the succeeding membrane contains a full heading of the tenth regnal year of Henry III., A.D. 1226.

The portion of this document represented on Plate LXIV. contains the two columns of the fourth membrane. Each of these columns comprises seventy names, and each name is followed by an entry of the amount paid for admission to the freedom of the city, or Guild-Merchant, of Dublin.

To many of the names on this Roll are added those of the localities to which the individuals belonged, and some persons are designated from occupations. Thus we find Richard of Cardiff ; Roger, the Cordwainer, of Hereford ; Robert of Derry ; Richard of Athtruim [Trim] ; William of Bordeaux ; Gillaissa of Cork ; Nicholas the Baker ; Isaac of Flanders ; Geoffrey Fitzroger, of London ; John of Bath ; Piers, of Oxford ; Walter, the Mercer, of Naas, etc.

As in the Paris "Rôle de la Taille," of the thirteenth century, and in

Dublin  
Roll of  
Names.

the early London Letter-books, we find on these Dublin Rolls Latinised surnames and *sobriquets* derived from personal qualities, appearance, or associations, as in the following instances :—Marcus Albus; Adam Niger; Rogerus Rufus; Johannes Largus; Richardus Parvus; Ada Longus; Godefridus Grossus; Walterus Calvus; Godefridus cum capillo; Reginaldus Inferni; Matheus Caudecat; Walterus Cat; Walterus die Veneris.

In some instances, these additions are in mixed Anglo-Norman or early English, as follows :—Willelmus Curtjamba; Rogerus le gras; Baldewinus le poet; Lambert le gentil; Robertus le strange; Walterus devand le mast; Gregory the keen; Hugo le younger; David Whitegos; Robertus Wetheresnecke; Simon "by the watere de Wikinglo" and Ben "de Kirkeby that berth is mantel modily."

On these Rolls are registered physicians, apothecaries, spicers, goldsmiths, and representatives of almost every craft or trade from various parts of England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, France, Brabant, and Flanders.\*

Dublin  
Charter  
from John  
A.D. 1192.

LXV.—DUBLIN CHARTER FROM JOHN, A.D. 1192.—This fine specimen of calligraphy, executed on the 15th of May, in the year 1192, forms, in point of size, a remarkable contrast to the small Dublin charter from John's father, Henry II., which preceded it by twenty years. John, before his accession to the throne of England, had, in 1185, as Lord of Ireland, confirmed the Dublin charter granted by his father. This elaborate instrument of 1192 was purchased from him by the citizens as a more specific grant of privileges. They bought a still further extension from John in 1215, the year before his death. These charters long formed the basis of civic government in Dublin, as well as precedents for grants made to other towns in Ireland, and clauses in them have still some operative vitality.

Topo-  
graphy of  
Ireland by  
Giraldus  
Cam-  
brensis.

LXVI.—TOPOGRAPHY OF IRELAND, BY GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS.—Gerout de Barri, or "Giraldus Cambrensis," born about 1146, was of a family of Anglo-Normans who settled in South Wales and formed connexions with the native princes of that district. The family of De Barri was allied by marriage with the Fitz Gerald, who organized the first Anglo-Norman descent upon Ireland, in which Philip and Robert, the brothers of Giraldus, took prominent parts as military leaders.

Giraldus studied at the University of Paris, and obtained the archdeaconry of St. David's in Wales, the Bishopric of which was held by his uncle, David Fitz Gerald. When that poor see became vacant in 1176, the Chapter elected Giraldus as successor to his uncle. Henry II., however, refused to ratify their choice, and Giraldus resumed his studies at the University of Paris. He subsequently became chaplain to Henry II., who appointed him preceptor to his son John. Giraldus visited his relatives settled in Ireland in 1183, and subsequently accompanied John thither in 1185. During these visits, he collected the materials for his

\* "Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland." By J. T. Gilbert. London: Longmans, 1870.—"Etudes sur l'Industrie." Par Gustave Fagniez. Paris: F. Vieweg, 1877.

"Topography of Ireland" and for his narrative styled "Hibernia Ex-  
pugnata."

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF IRELAND is divided into three books, named  
"Distinctions," treating of the following among other subjects : i. Topo-  
graphy and natural history ; situation and divisions of Ireland ; nature  
of the land ; winds and rains ; rivers, lakes, and islands ; birds, beasts,  
and fishes. ii. Marvels and miracles of Ireland ; tides in the Irish sea ;  
miraculous islands ; strange animals and prodigies ; peculiarities of birds,  
beasts, and fishes ; miracles of saints. iii. On the inhabitants of Ireland,  
ancient immigrations and divisions of the island ; character, customs,  
and habits of the people ; their incomparable skill in music ; dexterity  
in the use of the battle-axe ; affection for their foster children ;  
characteristics of the Irish clergy ; descents of the Norwegians. The  
work concludes with panegyrics on Henry II. and his achievements, with  
the characters of his sons.

Topo-  
graphy of  
Ireland by  
Giraldus  
Cam-  
brensis.

On Plate LXVI. are reproduced two pages from a very elegant, illus-  
trated manuscript of the TOPOGRAPHY, now extant in the King's Library,  
British Museum, London. In the first of these pages, taken from the  
second book of the "TOPOGRAPHIA HIBERNIE," Giraldus expatiates on the  
following topics : the crowing of cocks at an earlier hour in Ireland than  
in England ; the whelping of wolves in winter ; the hatching of owls  
and crows at Christmas ; the miraculous apples which grew for St.  
Kevin on a willow ; and the ravens which on the festival of that saint  
neither alighted nor took food at Glendaloch.

In the second page represented on this plate we are told of a wonder-  
fully sagacious domesticated falcon, which occasionally visited Glendaloch,  
but usually frequented the Round Tower of Kildare, to the great delight  
of the people, till it was slain by an ignorant rustic. Among the marvels  
at Kildare, Giraldus records that he found nothing more extraordinary  
than the wonderful book which, he observes, was said to have been  
written, under the direction of an angel, in the time of the famous  
virgin, St. Brigit. The following is an English version of his account of  
this volume, which is conjectured to have been the manuscript now  
known as the Book of Kells, already described in the present work :

"The book contains the Four Gospels according to St. Jerome, and  
almost every page is illustrated by drawings illuminated with a variety  
of brilliant colors. In one page you see the countenance of the Divine  
Majesty, supernaturally pictured ; in another, the mystic forms of the  
evangelists, with either six, four, or two wings ; here are depicted the  
eagle, there the calf ; here the face of a man, there of a lion ; with other  
figures in almost endless variety. If you observe them superficially, and  
in the usual careless manner, you would imagine them to be rude, rather  
than careful compositions ; expecting to find nothing exquisite, where,  
in truth, there is nothing which is not exquisite. But if you apply  
yourself to a more close examination, and are able to penetrate the  
secrets of the art displayed in these pictures, you will find them so deli-

Topo-  
graphy of  
Ireland by  
Giraldus  
Cam-  
brensis.

cate and exquisite, so finely drawn, and the work of interlacing so elaborate, the colours so blended, and still so fresh, that you will be ready to assert that all this is the work of angelic, and not human skill. The more often and closely I scrutinize them, the more I am surprised, and always find them new, discovering fresh causes for increased admiration.

“How the book was composed :

“Early in the night before the morning on which the scribe was to begin the book, an angel stood before him in a dream, and showing him a picture drawn on a tablet which he held in his hand, said to him, ‘Do you think that you can draw this picture on the first page of the volume which you propose to copy?’ The scribe, who doubted his skill in such exquisite art, in which he was uninstructed and unpractised, replied that he could not. Upon this the angel said, ‘On the morrow entreat your Lady to offer prayers for you to the Lord, that he would vouchsafe to open your bodily eyes, and give you spiritual vision, which may enable you to see more clearly, and understand with more intelligence, and employ your hands in drawing with accuracy.’ The scribe did as he was commanded. On the night following, the angel came again, and presented to him the same picture, with a number of others. All these, aided by Divine grace, the scribe made himself master of, faithfully committed them to memory, and copied them exactly in his book in their proper places. Thus was the book composed, an angel furnishing the designs, St. Brigit praying—the scribe copying.”

At the foot of the second column of this page (Plate LXVI.) is a coloured drawing of the scribe engaged on the Book of Kildare. Next to it is depicted the rustic in the act of killing the Kildare falcon. On the other page is St. Kevin, with a bird on his extended hand. This is an illustration of the legend, which, in reference to the Saint's patience and affection for birds tells that for many days he held his hand outstretched rather than disturb a blackbird which had perched upon it when one morning he had raised it to heaven in prayer. On the same plate are also reproduced two coloured drawings exhibiting the costume of the period, and the form of the battle-axes in use amongst the Irish.

The TOPOGRAPHY by Giraldus, had not long been completed when it was presented by its author to Archbishop Baldwin, who arrived in Wales in the course of a progress to preach a crusade. Giraldus, whose main defects were vanity and self-complacency, declares that the Archbishop was so delighted with the elegance and excellence of the work that he read it through with avidity, and highly extolled the talents of the author. Towards giving the TOPOGRAPHY further publicity, Giraldus took a course unusual in England, and which he has detailed as follows :—

“Not willing to hide his light under a bushel, but to place it on a candelabrum that it might shine forth, he resolved to recite his Topography publicly at Oxford, where he might have the most learned and famous of the English clergy for his audience. As there were three

distinctions, or divisions, in the work, and the reading of each division occupied one day, the recitations continued during three successive days. On the first he received and entertained at his inn all the poor of the town, who were specially summoned; on the following day he entertained all the doctors of the different faculties, and their most distinguished pupils; on the third day, he received the other scholars, with the knights, citizens, and many burghers." "It was," adds Giraldus, "a costly and noble act, because the authentic and ancient times of the poets were thus to some extent restored, and neither the present or past ages can show record of such solemnity."

Topo-  
graphy of  
Ireland by  
Giraldus  
Cam-  
brensis.

It has been observed by the Rev. J. S. Brewer that "the Topography by Giraldus may be considered as the prototype of those numerous productions, which, under the different names of 'Foreign Scenes and Incidents,' 'Personal Recollections,' 'Sketches of Distant Lands,' have occupied so large and important a space in the literature of Europe since the Reformation. It is in this light that the *TOPOGRAPHIA HIBERNIÆ* must be viewed, and not under the more solemn pretensions of the established models of literary composition in the twelfth century. Even now, with all that has been done since by modern topographers, trained in more scientific habits of observation, the conception of his task, as it existed in the mind of Giraldus, if not the execution, must remain as a monument of a bold and original genius. He must take rank with the first who desecrated the value, and, in some respects, the proper limits, of descriptive geography."

THE TOPOGRAPHY of Giraldus was for several centuries the only description of Ireland accessible to the world. The author's merits are seriously neutralized by his unlimited credulity and his violent prejudices against, and misrepresentation of, the people, in the despoilment of whom his brothers and other relations had systematically engaged. These faults are equally abundant in his other work on Ireland, entitled "*Hibernia Expugnata*."

In the seventeenth century two learned Irish writers, Stephen White and Doctor John Lynch, compiled elaborate works to controvert unfounded statements in which Cambrensis reflected upon the Irish and their country. On this subject the late learned James F. Dimock, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire, wrote as follows, after a careful examination of the works of Cambrensis:

"That these Irish treatises [by Giraldus] are in many ways interesting and valuable I fully allow, but it is of their historical value that I am bound especially to speak, and that they give a fair, impartial account, either of the Irish people, or of the English invaders, or of the doings of either, I confidently and emphatically deny.

"To prove their unfairness at all fully would take a large volume: I can only give briefly a few instances; and first the account of the remissness always in pastoral duties of the Irish Bishops.

"Giraldus asserts, that from the time of Saint Patrick there had never been a single Irish Bishop who had manfully striven to instruct

Topo-  
graphy of  
Ireland by  
Giraldus  
Cam-  
brensis.

and correct the people ; and this he asserts though St. Malachi's fame could not possibly have been unknown to him. St. Malachi had been dead only about forty years ; and few, if any, more earnest and laborious instructors and reformers can perhaps be named amongst the bishops of all Christendom of all time, and he had contemporaries and followers not unworthy of him. And this, too, he asserts of the Isle of Saints, for ages after St. Patrick's time the great nursery of zealous missionary bishops, apostles of the faith through many a wide district of the Continent of Europe, where the name of many an Irish saint and martyr is still held in reverence ; to whom also was due the conversion of Scotland, and of a large part of Saxon England. Giraldus first made this assertion in a sermon which he preached before a synod of the clergy at Dublin in 1186, and he deliberately repeats it in the *Topographia*, and again long afterwards in his *De Rebus, &c.* The preacher of the day before, an Irish abbot, had denounced, and very justly, as was proved, the incontinence of the English clergy, who had followed the invaders into Ireland. Giraldus retaliates, in his sermon, with a sweeping charge of excessive drinking against the Irish clergy, but adds not a word as to any attempt being made to prove the charge ; and not content with that, he then makes this charge of utter neglect of duty against the bishops of Ireland, without one exception, since the time of St. Patrick. It was bad enough, in a moment of exasperation, to make so reckless an assertion ; it was worse to persist deliberately in it afterwards. It seems incredible that he should not have well known its gross falsehood, if not at the time he first uttered it, at any rate long before he repeated it in the *De Gestis, &c.* But there was nothing that Giraldus had once said, which in his opinion was not well worthy of being said again. There can be but one opinion of an historian who could thus recklessly make an untrue statement, and thus deliberately persist in it.

"In some cases he must, I think, have been imposed upon by his informants. He was almost as credulous as he was vain and pompous, exactly the man that a joker would fix upon as fair and first-rate game. For instance, his account of the mode of inaugurating a king in Tircconnell has not a fraction of truth in it, and is so absurdly and disgustingly incredible and impossible, that I can only imagine it to have been told him by some one who was trying whether, in his contempt of the Irish, there was any possible ridiculous and foul calumny that his gullibility would not swallow. His unfairness is not confined to the Irish. No doubt whatever, much that he says of the English leaders is far from the exact truth."\*

Among the unpublished translations of the TOPOGRAPHY may be mentioned one in Provençal, in the British Museum, and ascribed to Friar Philip, of the Order of Preachers, in Cork, in the fourteenth century. In this, the translator refers to Giraldus under the name of Guiral, in terms of which the following is a French version by M. Paul Meyer :—

\* Giraldi Cambrensis Topographia Hibernica et Expugnatio Hibernica. Edited by James F. Dimock, M. A. London: Longmans, 1867.



"Il fut un nommé Guiral, parent de Henri, roi des Anglais, qui fut Topo-  
envoyé en Hibernie avec Jean fils dudit roi; et quand ils furent là, ce graphy of  
Guiral s'émerveilla des choses que Dieu faisait en ces parties extremes Ireland by  
du monde et qu' on ne voyait point ailleurs. Et de ces merveilles ledit Giraldu  
Guiral fit un petit livret, qui ne contenait pas l'ensemble complet de ces Cam-  
choses. Et c'est ne pas merveille si ce livret ne contenait pas toutes les brensis.  
dites merveilles, car Bede et Solin, qui en ont traité, lui firent défaut.  
Et pour cela ledit frère Philippe lut ledit livre dudit Guiral, et avec ce  
qu'il y trouva de vrai et de profitable il fit cette œuvre, avec maintes  
autres choses meilleures et plus importantes qu'il y ajouta."

LXVII.—CHARTER FROM WILLIAM DE BRAOSA.—By this instru- Charter  
ment, William de Braosa, with the assent of his son, conveyed to from  
Theobald Gaultier, or Walter, an extensive territory in Munster, William  
prising five and a half cantreds of land, over which he claimed rights de Braosa.  
under John, King of England. The lands, it is here stipulated, were to  
be held from De Braosa by service of twenty-two knights. This charter  
was executed in the year 1201, in the presence of King John.  
Appended to the document is a seal, bearing on its obverse an equestrian  
figure, with the legend: "Sigillum Willelmi de Braosa;" and inscribed  
on its reverse: "Secretum Willelmi de Braosa Juvenis."

LXVIII.—On this plate is reproduced another document, with a Charter of  
similar seal, in connexion with the transactions between Theobald Walter, Theobald  
William de Braosa, and William de Burgh, relating to the lands men- Walter.  
tioned in the preceding charter. Theobald Walter, who executed this  
instrument, was the founder of the House of Ormonde in Ireland. He  
and his elder brother, Hubert, were the sons of Hervé Walter—a Nor-  
man noble of large demesnes in Norfolk and Suffolk—by his wife Maud,  
sister of Ranulf de Glanville, Chief Justiciary of England, and author  
of the most ancient treatise extant on English Law. Hubert Walter—  
appointed by Richard I. to the See of Salisbury—distinguished himself  
in the Crusades as a fearless soldier as well as a zealous bishop and  
acute diplomatist. He headed the party who entered the breach at the  
attack on Acre, and with great energy and ability commanded for a time  
the English crusading army. A contemporary described him as having  
displayed the courage of a soldier, the skill of a general, and the piety  
of a pastor.\* Saladin, with whom Bishop Hubert had personal relations,  
is recorded to have highly respected him, and at his request to have per-  
mitted the ministrations of Christian ecclesiastics at the Holy Sepulchre,  
Bethlehem, and Nazareth.

While Richard I. was a prisoner in Germany, Hubert Walter acted  
as his Vicegerent in England. He reduced the partisans of Richard's  
rival brother, John, and levied the amount required for the King's ran-  
som. In 1193 he was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury and Chief  
Justice of England. After Richard's death, in 1199, Hubert adminis-

\* "Verum magnanimus Saresbyriensis antistes ab expeditione abesse non sustinet, sed  
partem belli moderatur insignem, cujus virtus in armis militem, in castris ducem, in  
ecclesiasticis implet pastorem."—Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi. Edited  
by William Stubbs, M.A. London: Longmans, 1864.

Charter of  
Theobald  
Walter.

tered the coronation oaths to John, crowned him as King of England at Westminster Abbey, and became his Chancellor. Primate Hubert Walter died in 1205, and his tomb, with his effigy, is still to be seen in Canterbury Cathedral. It has been observed that the power of Hubert Walter was, during one period of his life, "regal and apostolical; and being an energetic man, he caused it to be felt. He was Primate, Legate, Chief Justice, Chancellor, and King's Vicegerent—an accumulation of offices which never centred in any other individual."

Hubert's brother, Theobald Walter—a person of great note in his time—came to Ireland with Henry II., from whom he received a grant of the hereditary butlerage, or prisage, under which he was entitled to receive from every wine-laden ship arriving there a specified proportion of her cargo. In connexion with this right, he was styled "Pincerna Regis," or the King's Butler, in which capacity it was his office to present the first cup of wine to the King at his coronation. This function was considered so important that Henry II. officiated in person as Royal Butler to his son, afterwards Henry III., on the occasion of the latter's preliminary coronation.

Theobald Walter was one of the counsellors selected to accompany John when he visited Ireland in 1185, and he there attested several of that Prince's charters. He was also a witness to the charter executed by John at London in 1192, in favour of the citizens of Dublin, a copy of which appears on Plate LXV. Theobald, through the influence of his brother, Hubert, obtained from Richard I. large demesnes in Lancashire, which had been possessed by William de Braosa, and he acted for some years as sheriff of that shire. In the charters (Plates LXVII.-LXVIII.) under which lands in Ireland, claimed by William de Braosa, were transferred to Theobald Walter, the name of the latter's brother, Archbishop Hubert, stands first amongst those of the witnesses.

Theobald founded monasteries both in England and Ireland. He survived his brother, the Archbishop, but one year, and was buried in 1206 in the Abbey which he had established for Augustinians at Wodeny, in the county of Limerick. In his foundation-charter he makes special commemoration of his brother Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, "his dear friend, Ranulf de Glanville," his father Hervé Walter, his mother Maud de Valognes, and his wife Maud. The latter, after his death, became the wife of Fulk Fitz Warine—noted for the part which he took in the Barons' wars. Fitz Warine paid to the Crown twelve hundred marks and two palfreys for permission to marry the widow of Theobald Walter.

William de Braosa, who executed the charter in favour of Theobald Walter, was head of a family of high rank in Normandy and England; and also held possessions in Wales, where he severely repressed the natives. He entered into a contest with King John, mainly with reference to royal rents claimed from lands in Ireland, and in this dispute his wife, Matilda, also became involved. John, while in Ireland, in 1210, captured Matilda de Braosa and her eldest son, William, and sent them

prisoners to England. There, by the King's orders, the mother and son were confined in a dungeon, and starved to death. William de Braosa, the father, disguised as a beggar, effected his escape to Paris, where he died, it is said, of a broken heart. Charter of Theobald Walter.

LXIX.—FOUNDATION CHARTER OF ABBEY OF DOWISKYR.—William Maréchal, who granted this charter, was head of the great baronial family, which held the hereditary office of Marshal to the Kings of England. A trusted counsellor of Richard Cœur de Lion, at whose coronation he bore the royal sceptre, surmounted by a cross of gold, he was one of those appointed to advise the regents of England during the King's absence in Palestine. In 1189, Earl William obtained in marriage, from the Crown, Isabel, sole child and heiress of Richard FitzGislebert, surnamed "Strongbow," by his wife Eva, daughter of Dermot, King of Leinster. Earl William thus acquired a claim to a principality in Leinster, of about one hundred and twenty miles in extent, comprising Ossory with the three counties of Wexford, Carlow, and Kildare. By this alliance he also obtained the Welsh earldoms of Pembroke and Strigoil, with the sword of the latter of which King John girded him on the day of his coronation. This Earl Maréchal was Chief Governor in Ireland for King John from 1191 to 1194—about which period he erected the castle on the bank of the river Nore, and established in its vicinage the town now known as Kilkenny. Charter from William Maréchal.

In the present charter the Earl states that, on behalf of himself and his wife Isabel, he has founded and endowed the Abbey of St. Saviour, for Monks of the Order of Cîteaux, in the land of Dowiskyr. He enjoins that these monks, their men and servants, shall be exempt from various exactions, and enjoy the liberties specified in his grant. The malediction of God and of the founder is invoked against those who disturb or aggrieve the monks, and the Divine blessing and an eternal reward are promised to everyone who shall aid the place, and promote the charity of the founder. The charter is in some places obliterated. The original seal, of small size, in green wax, is still pendant from it, and among the names of the witnesses are those of Albin O'Molloy, Bishop of Ferns, and Hugh, Bishop of Ossory.

LXX.—LETTER FROM CITIZENS OF DUBLIN TO HENRY III., KING OF ENGLAND.—This minutely-written and elegant document affords an illustration of the contests which frequently arose between viceregal, ecclesiastical, and municipal interests within the Anglo-Norman colony in Ireland. The citizens of Dublin, entitled to rights under their charters from the King of England, vigorously repelled the encroachments occasionally made upon their liberties by the officials of the Archbishop, whose lands were contiguous to those of the city. The Archbishop exercised extensive secular jurisdiction within his own districts, into which even the King's officers had no legal right to enter, except under special circumstances. The citizens, in the letter before us, written about A.D. 1220, earnestly call upon the King to terminate a contest Letter from Dublin Citizens.

Letter from which had arisen between them and the Archbishop's officials, with  
Dublin reference to the arrest, imprisonment and trial of men who had used  
Citizens violence to two persons in the market-place of the city, and had evaded  
justice through the interference of the Archbishop's bailiffs.

The difficulties of the citizens in such contests were increased by the circumstance that Henri, Archbishop of Dublin, against whose officials they remonstrated, held also the viceroyalty of the Anglo-Norman colony, and the post of Papal Legate for Ireland. His influence was likewise great as a member of the King's Council in England. He was one of the few who, on the 15th June, 1215, stood by John's side at Runnymede, when the Barons of England received the "Magna Charta." In the preamble of that document, the name of Henri, Archbishop of Dublin, stands second among those of the councillors by whose advice the King granted the "Great Charter." According to Anglo-Irish chroniclers, Archbishop Henri acquired in Ireland the name of "Scorch-villein" from having cast into the fire the leases of poor tenants of the See of Dublin, whom he had cited to produce their evidences in his court. The enraged land-holders, we are told, forthwith prostrated the archiepiscopal officials, and, laying hands on the prelate, who attempted to escape, compelled him, by threats of burning the house over his head, to agree to terms which contented them. "Thou an Archbishop?" they exclaimed. "Nay, thou art a scorch-villein!" and by this name he is occasionally referred to in old writings.

Letters  
from King  
Cathal  
O'Conor.

LXXI. 1-2.—LETTERS FROM CATHAL O'CONOR, KING OF CONNACHT, TO HENRY III., KING OF ENGLAND.—Cathal O'Conor, surnamed in Irish *Croibh Dearg*, or "the red-handed," was brother of Ruadhri, or Roderic, Monarch of Ireland, who died A.D. 1198. By great courage and capacity, Cathal maintained his rights in Connacht, in opposition to native enemies, and to the followers of De Lasci and De Burgh. The latter, aided by the soldiery of the King of England, had effected an armed occupation of part of that province, which, for a time, was the scene of constant hostilities.

Two important monuments of Cathal's munificence still exist in the remains of the extensive and once opulent religious establishments which he founded and endowed at Knockmoy, near Tuam, and at Ballintobber in the county of Mayo. The former, erected to commemorate one of his victories, was styled in Irish *Cnoc-mhuaidhe*, or "the Hill of conquest;" and in this monastery Cathal was buried in A.D. 1224, after having passed his latter days there in the religious habit. His death was regarded by some of the Irish of Connacht as so disastrous to their interests, that they considered it to have been presaged by a pestilence which had shortly before afflicted parts of their country.

The Irish annalists characterize Cathal as "a just and upright King; a discreet, pious, and right-judging hero." They add that he was a man, who, beyond all others, had destroyed the rebels and enemies of Ireland; who had most relieved the clergy and the poor; and who, of all the

Irish nobles that existed in or near his time, had received from God most goodness and the greatest virtues.

LXXI. 3.—LETTER FROM THE CLERGY OF ARMAGH TO HENRY III.—Letter from Armagh. This letter from the Dean and Chapter of Armagh, written about A.D. 1247, is interesting from the fact that Archbishop Albert, whose resignation of the Primatial See of Ireland is here announced, was a native of Cologne, and had been consecrated at Westminster. He is stated to have assisted at the Council of Lyons, in 1245, and to have there assumed, as Archbishop of the ancient See of Armagh, precedence over prelates of France, Italy, and Spain. After having resigned the See of Armagh, as mentioned in the present letter, he is said to have become Archbishop of Riga.

LXXII. 1.—LETTER FROM THE CLERGY OF TUAM TO HENRY III.—Letter from Tuam. In this document, the Dean and Chapter solicit the King's confirmation of their election of Florence Mac Floin, their Chancellor, who was also Papal Sub-Deacon, to the Archbishopric of Tuam, vacant by the death of Marianus, or Maeltuirc, O'Laghnan. Their request was acceded to, and Archbishop Mac Floin occupied the See of Tuam from 1250 to 1256.

LXXII. 2.—WATER-GRANT FROM THE BISHOP OF OSSORY.—Kilkenny Water-Grant. Geoffroi de Turville, Bishop of Ossory, by this deed granted to the members of the Dominican Order in Kilkenny permission to take a supply of water from St. Canice's fount, stipulating that the circumference of the water-pipe should not be larger than that of his ring. Attached to the deed is a fragment of the Chapter seal; of the Bishop's seal also a considerable portion remains. On its obverse is still partly visible the figure of a prelate robed, with a crozier in his left hand; and on the reverse is the Virgin and Child, with an ecclesiastic in attitude of prayer. A ring of copper is, as exhibited in the plate, attached by a strip of parchment to the charter, a little above the Bishop's seal. This document is now preserved among the records of the Corporation of Kilkenny. Ancient water-grants of somewhat similar purport are extant in the archives of the Municipal Corporation of the city of Dublin.

LXXII. 3.—LETTER FROM THE BISHOP OF LIMERICK TO HENRY III.—Letter from Bishop of Limerick. Hubert de Burgh, the writer of this letter, had been Prior of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine at Athassel, in the County of Tipperary. That establishment was founded and endowed by his powerful kinsman, William Fitz Aldelm de Burgh, sometime Viceroy and head of the De Burgh family in Ireland. Hubert held the bishopric of Limerick from 1222-3 to 1250. Geoffroi de Marreis, against whom he appeals in this letter to the King, was thrice Viceroy of the Anglo-Norman colony, a peer of England and of Ireland, lord of large estates in both countries, and founder of religious establishments. De Marreis, however, ended his days in exile in France, pitifully, yet, it is said, undeserving of pity, because he had participated in a treasonable plot which led to the death of his feudal lord, Richard, Earl Maréchal.

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William, son of Geoffroi de Marreis, also alluded to in the present letter as having been excommunicated by the Bishop of Limerick, was executed at London for having employed an assassin to murder King Henry III.

Account of  
Revenue  
from  
Ulster.

LXXIII. 1.—ACCOUNT OF REVENUE RECEIVED FROM PART OF ULSTER.—This fine specimen of caligraphy is portion of one of the records formerly known as Rolls of the Pipe, or revenue receipt, in Ireland. It contains the account for A.D. 1259–61, rendered to the Exchequer by the Anglo-Norman officials employed in the districts of Twescard and Keneleun, in Ulster, and of Uriel, or Louth. Twescard, or Toschart, an adaptation of the Irish word *Tuaisceart*, meaning the North, was applied to the territory round Coleraine, comprising the lower half of the district now known as the county of Antrim. Keneleun, a form of the Irish words *Cinel Eogain*, was the tribe-name of the territory occupied mainly by the O'Neills, and now known as Tyrone. Bren Onell or Brian O'Neill, styled "regulus" or ruler of Keneleun is here entered as having made payments both in money and in numerous cows. He was King of a branch of the O'Neills, and is styled, in Irish documents, "Brian of the battle of Down," from his having been slain at Downpatrick, in A.D. 1260, in an engagement with the Anglo-Normans. Ancient Gaelic poems on his death are still extant. Some years since, his seal was found near Beverley, in Yorkshire. It is inscribed "Sigillum Brien Regis de Kenel Eogain," and bears the representation of a mounted warrior brandishing a long sword.

The following are some of the now obsolete local names mentioned in the present document, together with their modern equivalents: Coulrath—Coleraine; Drumtarsy—Kilowen; Erthermoy—Armoy; Hathe-ran, or Ohatheran—Portstewart; Lochkel—Loughguile; Portkaman—Bushmills; Portros—Portrush; Tullacheskeych—Ballyskeagh; Turteri—now the baronies of Lower Antrim and Toome.

It is remarkable that in this official return we should find specified as a fixed period for payments one styled "La Beltonn." This term is an adaptation of the words *La Beltine*, or *Bealltaine*, by which the native Irish designated the first day of summer.

Letter from  
King Felim  
O'Conor.

LXXIII. 2.—LETTER FROM FELIM O'CONOR, KING OF CONNACHT, TO HENRY III.—This partly-obliterated document was formerly preserved in the Tower of London. Its writer, Felim, was son of Cathal O'Conor, whose letters have been already noticed. Felim obtained and held his position as King of Connacht under considerable difficulties. With a body of soldiery, he aided Henry III. against the Welsh, in A.D. 1244, and, through a visit to that monarch's court in England, subsequently obtained redress against intruders who were in alliance with the royal ministers in Ireland. Remonstrances relating to similar grievances form the subject of the present letter.

Felim O'Conor erected and endowed extensive abbeys in Roscommon and Tumona. He died in 1265, and was buried in the Abbey of Ros-

common, where still survive the remains of his marble monument, on which he was represented lying at full length, holding a sceptre, and surrounded with armed galloglasses in coats of mail.

The Irish Chroniclers describe Felim O'Connor as a defender and supporter of his own province and of his friends on every side; the expeller and plunderer of his foes; a man full of hospitality, prowess, and renown; an exalter of the clerical orders and men of science; a worthy specimen of a King, in person, nobility, heroism, wisdom, clemency, and truth.

LXXIV. 1.—LETTER FROM PRIORESS AND NUNS OF ST. MARY OF HOGES, DUBLIN, TO HENRY III.—The nunnery of St. Mary of Hoges, in the eastern suburbs of the city of Dublin, was founded towards the middle of the twelfth century by a predecessor of Dermot Mac Murragh, King of Leinster, and from the latter it also received endowments. Its inmates are said to have acquired favor with King John, from having on one occasion concealed and protected a number of Anglo-Norman fugitives. By a regulation of this nunnery, women under thirty years of age were not permitted to become members of its community, and it is said that "many sent their daughters there to learn works, because the inmates were thought to be elderly and more staid than the younger sort of nuns." After the dissolution of religious houses in Ireland, portions of this building were used in repairing the Castle of Dublin; and from a document of 1550 it appears that "the late house or nunnery called the Hoges, beside the city of Dublin," was then ruinous, and that nothing remained of it but the walls.\*

LXXIV. 2.—LETTER FROM DEAN AND CHAPTER OF EMLY, IN MUNSTER, A.D., 1271-2.—The Bishop, whose recent decease is referred to in this letter, was Florence, surnamed "of Emly." The See of Emly is stated to have been founded by St. Ailbe, who died in the early part of the sixth century, and who is said to have been called "the Patrick of Munster." His festival is celebrated on the 12th of September at Emly, the name of which is derived from the Irish appellation *Imleach Iubhair*, signifying the holm or strath of yew.

LXXIV. 3.—LETTER FROM GEOFFROI DE JOINVILLE.—This document, written in French, is of great interest, as its writer, the Lord of Vaucouleurs, in Champagne, was brother of Jean, Sire de Joinville, companion and historian of Louis IX., King of France. Geoffroi de Joinville is referred to by his brother in the following passage in his "Histoire de St. Louis":

"A Pasques en l'an de grace que li miliars couroit par mil dous cenz quarante et huit mandai-je mes homes et mes fievez à Joinville; et la vegile de ladite Pasque, que toute cele gent que je avoie mandei estoient venu, fu nez Jehans mes fiz sires de Ancerville, de ma premiere femme, qui fu suer le conte de Grantprei. Toute celle semaine fumes en festes

\* History of the City of Dublin. By J. T. Gilbert. Dublin: 1859, iii. 6, 360.

et en quarolles, que mes freres li sires de Vauquelour, et li autre riche home qui là estoient, donnerent a mangier chascuns li uns après l'autre, le lundi, le mardi, le mercredi et le jeudi. Je leur diz le vendredi: 'Signour, je m'en voi outre mer, et je ne sai se je revenrai. Or venez avant; se je vous ai de riens mesfait, je le vous desferai, l'un par l'autre, si comme je ai acoustumei, à touz ceus qui vourront riens demander ne à moy ne à ma gent.' Je leur desfiz par l'esgart de tout le commun de ma terre; et pour ce que je n'eusse point d'emport, je me levai dou consoil, et en ting quanque il raportèrent, sanz debat."\*

"At Easter, in the year of grace 1248, I summoned my vassals and tenants to Joinville, and on the vigil of Easter Day, when all whom I had summoned had come, the birth took place of Jehans, my son, lord of Ancerville, by my first wife, who was sister of the Count of Grandprei. We had feasting and dancing all that week, in the course of which my brother, the Lord of Vauquelour, and other wealthy persons who were there gave entertainments, one after the other, on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. On the Friday, I said to them: Sirs, I am about to go away beyond the sea and know not if I shall ever return. Now, come forward, if I have done you any wrong I will repair it, one after the other, as has been my custom with all who have any request to ask of me or my people. I made amends to them according to the counsel of those dwelling on my lands; and that I might not influence them I withdrew from their council; and I carried out without question whatever they decided."

As confidant of Edward I. of England, Geoffroi was employed in many important negociations at home and abroad, and acted as Viceroy in Ireland from A.D. 1273 to 1276. Some of his affairs in connexion with that office are mentioned in the present letter to the King, which is stated to have been despatched from Dublin on the 11th May, 1276. Geoffroi de Joinville claimed half the territory of Meath, including the Castle of Trim, as husband of Matilda, one of the co-heiresses of Gualtier de Lasci. He eventually resigned his lordship in Meath to his granddaughter and her husband, Roger de Mortimer, and ended his days as a monk in the Dominican Abbey which he and his wife, Matilda de Lasci, had founded in Trim.

Letter from  
Robert de  
Ufford.

LXXV. 1.—LETTER FROM ROBERT DE UFFORD.—Robert de Ufford was successor to De Joinville in the viceroyalty in Ireland, which office he held at various intervals. The letter before us illustrates some of the difficulties which in those times beset the Governor of the Anglo-Norman colony in Ireland. De Ufford here details the circumstances under which he—as Viceroy—in accordance with a proposition from John de Dunheved, advanced to him a sum of money to pay horse and foot soldiers for the suppression of insurgents in the territory of Offaly, in Leinster. Dunheved, it would appear, omitted to carry out his engage-

\* Jean Sire de Joinville: *Histoire de Saint Louis*. Par M. Natalis De Wailly. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1874.



ment, and the Viceroy himself had, with great labour and cost, to undertake the military operations. The present letter was written in explanation of these circumstances, and to enable the King's officials to recover from De Dunheved the amount which had been so advanced.

LXXV. 2.—ACCOUNT OF EXCHANGE OF KING OF ENGLAND AT DUBLIN, A.D. 1278–9.—The document of which a specimen is here given belongs to a class of records which have hitherto remained unnoticed, although of peculiar interest in connexion with the history of Mints in Ireland. These rolls contain the account of the officials of the “King's Exchange” at Dublin. On them are entered with much precision the daily transactions, in connexion with bullion received and money coined, together with the names of the persons with whom the officers had dealings.

Account of  
Exchange  
at Dublin.

LXXV. 3.—LETTER FROM PRIORESS OF CLONARD IN MEATH, A.D. 1288.—Clonard, or *Cluain Iraird* in Meath, was the site of an extensive religious establishment founded there by St. Finnen, its Abbot, who flourished towards the middle of the sixth century, and who is recorded to have been the teacher of Ciaran, Columba, Brendan, Canice, and other chief saints of Ireland. The nunnery at Clonard is stated to have been founded in early times by a King of Meath. In the letter before us, the Prioress solicits the royal confirmation to the election of their Abbess. The priory of Clonard was subsequently incorporated with another religious foundation in the district of Meath.

Letter from  
Prioress of  
Clonard.

LXXVI. 1.—LETTER FROM GUILLAUME DE VESCY, LORD OF KILDARE.—De Vescy, the writer of this letter, was justiciary of the royal forests in England, Governor of Scarborough Castle, and brother-in-law to Estienne de Longe Espée, whom he succeeded in the viceroyalty in Ireland. The crown of Scotland had been claimed by De Vescy, in right of his grandmother, the Princess Margaret, daughter of William “the Lion,” and he inherited part of Kildare through his mother Agnes, daughter of Sibilla, Countess of Derby, to whom, as one of the *Maréchal* heiresses, that county had been assigned. Disputes arose between De Vescy and John Fitz Thomas Fitz Gerald, Baron of Offaly, subsequently first Earl of Kildare. In open court at Dublin, Fitz Thomas accused De Vescy of having solicited him to enter into a treasonable conspiracy, and offered to maintain this charge by wager of battle. The challenge was accepted by De Vescy, but Edward I. interposed and summoned both parties before him at Westminster. There, on the appointed day, De Vescy came in arms and offered to engage Fitz Thomas, but the latter although summoned did not appear, and the controversy was by mutual consent submitted to the royal decision. De Vescy subsequently transferred his Irish lands to the King, by whom some of them were granted to William de Wellesley and subsequently to Fitz Thomas, who thence derived the title of Earl of Kildare.\* An impression of a seal of Guillaume de Vescy—

Letter from  
Guillaume  
de Vescy.

\* History of the Viceroys of Ireland. By J. T. Gilbert. London: B. Quaritch, 1865.

bearing three sprigs of vetches—is extant, appended to a charter from him in possession of the Dean and Chapter of Durham.

Letter from  
Thomas  
Fitz  
Maurice.

LXXVI. 2.—LETTER FROM THOMAS FITZ MAURICE, LORD OF KERRY.—Thomas, son of Maurice, and grandson of Basilia, sister of “Strongbow,” was the first of his family who assumed the name of Fitz Maurice. From King John he obtained grants in Kerry, where he founded the Franciscan friary of Ardfert, in which he and many of his family were interred. In the letter before us, addressed to the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Fitz Maurice mentions the difficulties which the Anglo-Normans in Ireland anticipated from hostile movements on the part of the Irish, in connexion with the war in Wales, and begs that on this account his presence in England may be for a time dispensed with.

Letter from  
Friar  
Nicholas of  
Kildare.

LXXVI. 3.—LETTER FROM FRIAR NICHOLAS OF KILDARE.—Nicholas Cusack, a Franciscan, was appointed bishop of Kildare, after the see had been vacant for some years in consequence of a disputed election. In this letter, Friar Nicholas begs the Chancellor of Edward I. to use his influence to have an Irish prisoner exchanged for Gerald Tyrel, a youth of noble family and a brave leader in his own district. Tyrel, it is stated, had recently been taken prisoner in a conflict with the Irish, who had refused to surrender him on any terms until the son of an Irish noble, detained as a hostage in the Castle of Dublin, had been set at liberty. Some portions of this interesting document have been unfortunately lost by fracture in former times.

Letter from  
Archbishop  
of Armagh.

LXXVII. 1.—LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.—Mac Molissa, Primate of Ireland, in this letter intimates his readiness to comply with the request of Edward I. for the issue of public excommunication against those who had recently taken up arms against that King in Wales.

Itinerary of  
Viceroy in  
Ireland,  
A.D. 1288.

LXXVII. 2.—LXXVIII.—LXXX.—ITINERARY OF VICEROY IN IRELAND.—These extracts from a large roll furnish particulars of the proceedings of John de Sandford, Archbishop of Dublin, subsequently to his appointment as successor to Stephen de Foleburne, who died in 1288, while acting as Viceroy in Ireland. The new Archiepiscopal Viceroy inspected the King’s castles in Connacht; mustered the royal forces at Kildare against the Irish enemies in Offaly and Leix; assigned guards for the frontiers; made peace with the Irish of Desmond; despatched judges to Tipperary; and returned to negotiate in Munster. Subsequently, aided by the King of Connacht, he cut a pass, fortified castles; and proceeded against the hostile Irish in the borders of Meath. The Viceroy’s daily expenses are set down in the roll, with the chief places visited by him, which were as follows:—Reban, Carlow, Carrick, Dungarvan, Cork, Buttevant, Limerick, Clonmel, Waterford, Ross, Youghal, Jerpoint, Athlone, Roscommon, Tuam, Drogheda, Kells, Athboy, and Maynooth.

Letter from  
William  
DeValence.

LXXXI. 1.—LETTER FROM WILLIAM DE VALENCE, LORD OF PEMBROKE AND WEXFORD.—William de Valence, took a prominent part in

the affairs of England in the latter part of the reign of Henry III., and in the early part of that of Edward I. He acquired the lordship of Wexford through marriage with the daughter of Warine Munchesni, whose wife was one of the heiresses who, on failure of the male line, became entitled to portions of the lands of Leinster, as descendants of King Dermot Mac Murragh. In the letter before us, De Valence applies to Edward I. to direct the discontinuance of proceedings by which the people of Waterford sought to impede the access of shipping to the port of Ross, which formed portion of the possessions which he claimed in Ireland under the Crown of England.

LXXXI. 2.—LXXXII.—DOCUMENTS OF MERCHANTS OF LUCCA, Merchants of Lucca, trading in Ireland.  
 TRADING IN IRELAND.—Representatives of the Florentine and other Italian merchants and money-dealers appear to have commenced their traffic in England in the reign of Henry III., chiefly as collectors of the Papal revenues and as private money-lenders. These Italian companies, who possessed vast resources, subsequently entered into arrangements to advance moneys to the Kings of England, on the security of the revenues, of most of which they thus became receivers or collectors. Under the authority of the Crown of England, their operations were also carried on in Ireland, both in Dublin and in the provincial towns.

The first of the documents before us is a petition, in French, from the merchants of the company of the Richardi of Lucca, trading in Ireland. They pray the Viceroy to inquire into the losses which they have sustained through the violent proceedings of the deputy of the King's treasurer, who, they allege, took forcible possession of their moneys at Dublin, sealed up their coffers, and imprisoned some of their partners. His agents, they also state, acted in a similar manner, with respect to the goods, money, and partners of their company at Ross, Kilkenny, Limerick, Waterford, Youghal, and Cork.

The second document is a writ by which Edward I. directs his Viceroy in Ireland to inquire into the allegations put forward "in the complaint of his beloved merchants of the company of the Richardi of Lucca." We are informed of the result by the third document, which is the return of the jury on the case. The jurors decided that the Treasurer's deputy had, as alleged, attached the persons of the merchants and seized their goods.

LXXXIII. 1, 2, 3.—PAYMENTS AT DUBLIN EXCHEQUER.—These are Documents of Exchequer at Dublin.  
 specimens of documents of the Dublin Exchequer towards the close of the thirteenth century. In the first, Thomas de Arscy gives an acquittance for twenty-three pounds five shillings and seven-pence for payment of wages of Welsh soldiers employed in Ireland. In the second, William Fitz Roger, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, acknowledges to have received twenty pounds granted by the King of England to defray the expenses incidental to his journey to Dublin, where he was to officiate as justiciary. In the third document, Edward I. directs the officers of his exchequer at Dublin to pay Thomas Cantok, Chancellor for Ireland, the sum of twenty pounds, the balance of his annual fee of

forty pounds, which the King had agreed to allow him while he held that office.

Corn ship-  
ments from  
Ireland to  
France.

**LXXXIII. 4, 5.—SHIPMENTS OF CORN FROM IRELAND TO FRANCE.**—During the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II., large quantities of corn and other food supplies were exported from Ireland for the use of the soldiers employed by those monarchs in England, Scotland, and Wales, as well as on the Continent. The arrangements under which these supplies were forwarded are to some extent exhibited by the contents of the documents on this plate. The first of these relates to one hundred and forty quarters of wheat, of the London measure, despatched from Cork, and consigned to the receivers of the King's supplies in Gascony and Bayonne. The other writing, which is in terms similar to the preceding, relates to the shipment of four hundred and ten quarters of wheat sent from Youghal. The document adds that with the wheat is forwarded, under seal, the bushel with which it has been measured.

“Crede  
Mihi.”

**LXXXIV.—DUBLIN ARCHIEPISCOPAL REGISTER, STYLED “CREDE MIHI.”**—Thirty-seven leaves are all that now survive of this manuscript, relating mainly to the temporalities of the See of Dublin. The name of “Crede Mihi” was also applied to a treatise formerly appended to some copies of the Sarum Ordinal. The present manuscript, apparently transcribed towards the close of the thirteenth century, contains an entry in the handwriting of Archbishop Ussher, in which he assumes it to have been written in the year 1275. In the early part of the sixteenth century, this manuscript was in the custody of John Alan, appointed Archbishop of Dublin in 1528, and killed near that city at the commencement of the revolt of Thomas Fitz Gerald, son of the Earl of Kildare, against whose family he was known to have intrigued. The manuscript contains various entries in the hand of Alan. The page reproduced on the present plate forms portion of a catalogue of the churches in the city and county of Dublin, with their valuations. At the head of the page is a memorandum by Archbishop Alan, referring to a new repertory of the diocese of Dublin, in the compilation of which he made use of the materials in this manuscript. For access to the “Crede Mihi,” I am indebted to Archbishop Trench, of Dublin.

Black Book  
of Christ  
Church,  
Dublin.

**LXXXV.—BLACK BOOK OF CATHEDRAL OF THE HOLY TRINITY, DUBLIN.**—This is a folio volume, transcribed at different periods, from the early part of the twelfth to the fifteenth century. Its contents are miscellaneous, and include transcripts of documents connected with the Cathedral, as well as of various old treatises in Latin and Anglo Norman, many of which are connected with England. Of the brief annals which it contains one page is reproduced on the present plate. This page contains entries on the following matters relating to Ireland: A.D. 432, Arrival of St. Patrick.—439, Birth of St. Brigit.—1087, Burning of Waterford.—1122, Death of Samuel, Archbishop of Dublin.—1133, Malachy appointed Archdeacon of Armagh.—1142, Abbey of Mellifont constructed.—1152, Four Archbishoprics constituted in Ireland by the Legate, Christian.—

1157, Dedication of Church at Mellifont.—1161, Death of Gregory, Archbishop of Dublin, and successor of Laurence.—1168, Death of Donatus, King of Uriel, founder of Mellifont. The volume presents many fine specimens of caligraphy of various classes, occasionally embellished with coloured letters.

LXXXVI.—JOCELIN'S LIFE OF ST. PATRICK.—The author of this work, a monk of the Order of Citeaux, was one of a community brought from Furness in Lancashire, by Jean de Curci, who established a foundation for them in the county of Down, towards the close of the twelfth century. Jocelin's "Life of St. Patrick" enjoyed much popularity from the number of legends with which it abounds. In the introduction to it, he mentions that he undertook the work with the object of giving, in elegant language, the life of the most glorious Patrick, Patron and Apostle of Ireland, so illustrious by signs and miracles. The Saint's biography, he observes, had become unattractive from the confused and poor style of illiterate and uncultivated compilers. "We should endeavour," wrote Jocelin, "to clear away the superfluous, extinguish the false, and illuminate the obscure. This, by my devotion towards St. Patrick, I am bound to do; and I am, moreover, enjoined to undertake the task by Thomas, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, and Malachy, Bishop of Down." "To their commands is added," he continues, "the request of the most illustrious Jean de Curci, Prince of Ulidia, noted for his great veneration for St. Patrick." Jocelin concludes his preface as follows: "But, if any snake in the way, or serpent in the path, watching our steps, shall rashly accuse us herein of presumption, and shall attack our hand with the viper's tooth, yet do we, with the blessed Paul, collect the vine-twigs for the fire, and cast the viper into the flame. Wherefore, in describing the saints who have returned to dust, which were the branches of the True Vine, so that the minds of the faithful may be excited to the love and faith of Christ, we little regard the tongues of the envious and of the slanderers, for, if we are to be judged by such, with the Apostle we take them as of the smallest importance, and commit all to the Divine judgment." Jocelin's "Life of St. Patrick" is comprised in one hundred and ninety-six short chapters. The present copy, written in large and solid letters of Gothic character, would appear, from marginal entries, to have been in the possession of the O'Farrells, of Arnaly, or Longford, in the sixteenth century. It is now preserved in the Bodleian Library. Jocelin also compiled lives of Saint Centigern, St. Helena, and David, King of Scotland. From Jocelin's "Life of St. Patrick," Doctor Juan Perez de Montalvan derived most of the material for his "Vida y Purgatorio de San Patricio," printed at Madrid in 1628 and 1664. This publication supplied the groundwork of the noted drama "El Purgatorio de San Patricio," by Calderon, who closely followed the narrative of Montalvan.\*

\* Calderon's Dramas. By D. F. MacCarthy. London: H. S. King, 1878.

Charters  
from Basilia  
De Clare.

**LXXXVII.—CHARTERS FROM BASILIA, SISTER OF RICHARD FITZ GISLEBERT.**—The volume from which this page is extracted is an ancient chartulary of the important Abbey founded in the western suburb of Dublin by Henry II., in honour of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, with complicity in whose murder he had been charged. Of Basilia de Clare, Sister of Richard Fitz Gislebert, surnamed "Strongbow," little has been known beyond the incidental references to her by Cambrensis. Her brother is said to have, for a time, refused to give her as wife to Reimund Le Gros, his companion in arms, who consequently quarrelled with them and withdrew to Wales, where he remained until recalled to Wexford, where they were married with great revelry. Reimund, on Fitz Gislebert's death in 1177, acted for some time as Chief Governor in Ireland for the King of England, and castellated the district of Leinster mentioned in the present documents. After Reimund's decease, Basilia re-married with Geoffroi Fitz Robert, and from the charters before us, we learn that she ended her days as a nun in the monastery of St. Thomas, at Dublin, to which she and her relatives had liberally contributed.

Grants from  
Reginald  
Talbot, of  
Malahide.

**LXXXVIII.—GRANTS FROM REGINALD TALEBOT, OF MALAHIDE.**—Richard Talebot, who first granted lands in Malahide and Portmarnock, or Portmyrnoch, in the county of Dublin, to the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary, was second son of Richard Talebot, Lord of Eccleswell and Linton in Herefordshire. In the early years of the Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland, he acquired the Lordship of Malahide, to the north of Dublin, with lands in that district, which have since that period remained with the Talbot family, and are now held by Lord Talbot de Malahide. The grants before us are of special interest as they contain references to lands in the vicinage of Malahide which belonged to Hamund Mac Turkil, or MacThorkel, the last Norse King of Dublin. Thence Mac Turkil retreated after his unsuccessful contest with the Anglo-Normans, but subsequently returned with a force composed of Norwegians and soldiers from Man and the Hebrides, and endeavoured to regain possession of Dublin. He was, however, repulsed, captured, carried prisoner to the Castle of Dublin, and there beheaded, by order of the new Governor, Milun de Cogan. The grants of Richard Talebot to St. Mary's Abbey were confirmed by his son, Reginald, who styled himself "de Wassunville," from the town of that name in Normandy. They are registered in the manuscript chartulary of St. Mary's, of which a specimen page is give on Plate LXXXVIII. In the seventeenth century, this volume formed part of the collection of Sir James Ware. It is now preserved in the Bodleian Library.

Inisfallen  
Annals.

**LXXXIX.—INISFALLEN ANNALS.**—These annals are conjectured to have been compiled towards the commencement of the eleventh century by Maelsuthain O'Cearbhaill, or O'Carroll, in a monastery which had been founded at an early period on the islet of Inis Faithlenn, or Inisfallen, in the Lower Lake of Killarney. Maelsuthain was lord of

an adjacent district, and is mentioned as one of the councillors of King Brian Borumha. In the presence of that monarch he is believed to have written the entry in the "Book of Armagh," reproduced on plate XXV. of the present work. His death is recorded to have taken place in A.D. 1009.

The oldest copy now known of the **INISFALLEN ANNALS** is that in the Bodleian Library, from which the page here given has been reproduced, extending from A.D. 931 to 951. The manuscript is imperfect. Several leaves are missing, and many are very much discoloured. The entries are in Gaelic, with the frequent intermixture of Latin, and the orthography frequently differs from that of other writings of the same class. The earlier part of the manuscript is in the style of writing and coloring similar to that here exhibited, but the succeeding portions are in different and less regular hands. The annals commence with the fifth century and are continued to the early part of the fourteenth. This manuscript was for a time in the possession of Sir James Ware, by whom it was referred to as "*Annales Cœnobii Inisfallensis*." In connection with this and other documents in the Irish language, I have, as on a former occasion, to acknowledge my obligations to Professor Brian O'Looney, M.B.I.A.

**XC.—ANNALS BY TIGHERNACH.**—This page is extracted from a transcript of Tighernach's Annals, in Irish and Latin, specimens of a more ancient and smaller copy of which have been given on plates XLIII. and XLIV. In the present copy the annals are continued to the latter part of the twelfth century. The manuscript contains a few ornamental capitals, and is written in an excellent angular Irish character. It is, however, imperfect, and many of the entries have been so carelessly transcribed as to render them in some places obscure and in others almost unintelligible. These defects are apparent in some portions of the page represented on the present plate, which contains annals of the seventh century. For assistance in the elucidation of this intricate specimen, I am indebted to the Very Rev. William Reeves, Dean of Armagh.

**XCI.—CONNACHT ANNALS.**—This manuscript is a fragment consisting of thirty-four leaves, in the Irish language, intermixed with Latin, written in a semi-Gothic hand, and replete with obscure contractions. The annals which it contains, extending from the early Scriptural periods to A.D. 1257, are meagre and brief. The nature of those of the latter period is exhibited in the three pages reproduced on the present plate, containing entries from A.D. 1174 to 1185. At the head of one of these pages is a line in Latin taken from the commencement of a diploma, or charter, from Friar Cathal Mac an liathanaigh O'Conor, Abbot of the Monastery of Trinity Island, in Loch Cè, in the county of Roscommon, and Bishop of Elphin from A.D. 1308 to 1310.

This manuscript was for a time, but apparently without sufficient foundation, designated the "Annals of Boyle," in Connacht. In the seventeenth century it was in the possession of Sir Robert Cotton, in

Connacht  
Annals.

whose catalogue it was entered as follows: "*Annales de Buellio in Hibernia; continent breve chronicon, ab orbe condito de rebus sacris ad Christum natum, et inde post tempora S. Patricii, fusius de rebus ecclesiasticis Hibernicorum, partim Latine partim Hibernice.*" With the Cottonian collection this manuscript came to the British Museum.

An edition of these annals, as well as of those of Tighernach and Inisfallen, was printed for private circulation in the early part of the present century, by the erudite Charles O'Connor, D.D. In the preparation of these works, however, he encountered numerous obstacles, insuperable by any individual scholar at that period, as the contents of many of the chief monuments of the old Irish language had not then been adequately examined or elucidated.

Psalter of  
Rhyddmarch.

APPENDIX I.—PSALTER OF BISHOP RHYDDMARCH.—This small and elegant manuscript is believed to have been written by Rhyddmarch, Rhydderch, or Ricemarch, who succeeded his father, Sulgen, in the Bishopric of St. David's in Wales, and died towards the close of the eleventh century. Rhyddmarch was the author of a life of St. David, and some of the artistic portions of the present volume are supposed to have been executed by the Bishop's brother John. The manuscript opens with the Hieronymian letters to Chromatius and Heliodorus, after which come the festivals of the Apostles and St. Jerome's Martyrology. These are followed by the Psalter, with prefaces. The psalms are in three divisions of fifty. To each division is prefixed an ornamental and coloured page. At the end of the volume are Latin verses, containing references to Bishop Rhyddmarch and his father and brother.

The manuscript is elegantly written in small Irish characters, with many colored initial letters. Its style is exhibited in the three following specimens reproduced on the present plate: 1. Calendar for December and January. 2. Ornamental title, containing commencement of Psalm 101, according to the Vulgate. 3. Psalms 115, 116, 117.

This book, in the seventeenth century, belonged to William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, and it contains his autograph. It subsequently came to the hands of Archbishop Ussher, who refers to it in his treatise on "The Religion of the Ancient Irish," and with his collection it was deposited in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, where it now remains.

Missal and  
Satchel.  
Scala.

APPENDIX II.—On this plate are represented the following:—1. Ancient Irish Missal, already noticed, as it appears when closed. 2. Satchel of Missal. 3. Reverse of Seal of Richard Fitz Gislebert, surnamed "Strongbow," the obverse of which is given on plate LXIII. 4. Obverse of seal of Bertram de Verdun, Anglo-Norman Seneschal of Ireland under Henry II. 5. Reverse of seal of William de Braosa, the obverse of which appears on plate LXVII.

In the Appendix will also be found the versions of the "Confession of Saint Patrick," from the "Book of Armagh," and from the "Fell" manuscript in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. These are printed line



for line as in the originals. The Appendix likewise contains the completion of the old Gaelic story of the Ulster hero, Cuchulainn, from the *LEABHAR NA H-UIDHRI*, the opening portions of which have been given on plates XXXVII. and XXXVIII.

I may here mention that the production of the present work, commenced while I was Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland, is not now carried on in connexion with that establishment, the Secretaryship of which has been abolished by Government.

Since the issue of the first part of this publication, death has carried off Major General Sir Henry James, Director General of the Ordnance Survey, under whose superintendence the specimens selected by me were photozincographed. To his zeal for the promotion of the photozincographic art the public owe the reproduction of many interesting documents.

I have also to refer, with the most sincere regret, to the recent decease of Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy. To him—in the course of this and other undertakings—I was deeply indebted for valuable advice and aid in connection with the archives under his care in England, from which important materials have been derived for the present work.

I desire here to express my obligations to Sir Stafford Northcote ; to the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury ; and to the Right Honorable Sir George Jessel, Master of the Rolls in England. To the Right Honorable Edward Sullivan, Master of Rolls, Keeper of the Public Records in Ireland, I am specially indebted for his continued interest in my labours, which have been thus lightened and facilitated.

JOHN T. GILBERT.

VILLA NOVA,

BLACKROCK,

DUBLIN, 14th August, 1878.



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IN FACSIMILE.

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- |                                   |   |  |
|-----------------------------------|---|--|
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FACSIMILES  
OF  
NATIONAL MANUSCRIPTS OF IRELAND.

EDITED BY  
J. T. GILBERT, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.,  
*Late Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland.*

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THIS work is intended to form a comprehensive Palæographic Series for Ireland. It will furnish characteristic specimens of the documents which have come down from each of the classes which, in past ages, formed principal elements in the population of Ireland, or exercised an influence in her affairs. With these reproductions will be combined facsimiles of writings connected with eminent personages or transactions of importance in the annals of the country to the end of the reign of Queen Anne.

The specimens are reproduced as nearly as possible in accordance with the originals, in dimensions, colouring, and general appearance. Characteristic examples of styles of writing and caligraphic ornamentation are, so far as practicable, associated with subjects of historic and linguistic interest. Descriptions of the various manuscripts are given by the Editor in the Introduction. The contents of the specimens are fully elucidated and printed in the original languages opposite to the Facsimiles—line for line—without contractions—thus facilitating reference and aiding effectively those interested in palæographic studies.

Part I. contains upwards of seventy coloured specimens, commencing with the earliest Irish MSS. extant.

Part II. extends from the Twelfth Century to A.D. 1299, and contains ninety specimens in colours.

In Part III. the Work will be carried down to the end of the reign of Henry VIII.

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**NATIONAL MANUSCRIPTS OF IRELAND.**

**PART III.**



ACCOUNT  
OF  
FACSIMILES  
OF  
NATIONAL MANUSCRIPTS OF IRELAND,  
SELECTED AND EDITED, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF  
THE RIGHT HON. EDWARD SULLIVAN,  
MASTER OF THE ROLLS IN IRELAND,  
BY  
JOHN T. GILBERT, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.,  
LATE SECRETARY OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE OF IRELAND;  
AND  
PHOTOZINCOGRAPHED  
BY COMMAND OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA,

BY  
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR HENRY JAMES, R.E., F.R.S.,  
LATE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE ORDNANCE SURVEY.

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PART III.

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1879.

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# ACCOUNT OF FACSIMILES

OF

## NATIONAL MANUSCRIPTS OF IRELAND.

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### PART III.

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I.—THE RED BOOK OF THE ENGLISH EXCHEQUER IN IRELAND.—Red Book of the Exchequer in Ireland.  
This is the most ancient official record volume now extant in Ireland. The surviving portion of it consists of eighty-seven vellum leaves, containing copies of documents and entries made at various periods, from the early part of the fourteenth century. Portions of the volume are occupied by an ancient calendar in black, blue, and red characters, and by a copy of parts of the Mass, illustrated with a coloured antique drawing of the Crucifixion. It also contains copies of the oaths which were in former times administered on this volume to officials previous to their admission to places under the Crown of England in Ireland. The RED BOOK has suffered much from careless treatment, and some of its leaves are stained and defaced. An ancient representation of the Court of Exchequer and its officials, depicted on one of its pages, is reproduced on plate XXXVII. of the present publication. Of the "Magna Charta" issued for Ireland by the guardians of Henry III., on the death of his father, King John, in 1216, the only ancient copy known appears to be that which was officially entered in the RED BOOK of the Exchequer. Two pages of this transcript of the Charter are given on the present plate, and the concluding portion will be found in our Appendix.

II.—EARLIEST ROLL OF ENGLISH CHANCERY IN IRELAND.—On this Earliest Patent Roll of Ireland.  
now partly obliterated roll were registered, towards the beginning of the fourteenth century, some of the charters and letters patent executed in the early period of the Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland. One of these instruments, reproduced on the present plate, is a charter by which Prince John, Lord of Ireland and subsequently King of England, granted lands in Leinster to Robert de St. Michel, to be held by knight's service at Dublin.

III.—MEMORANDUM ON RECORDS DESTROYED BY FIRE, A.D. 1304.—Records destroyed by fire.  
This is a contemporary official enumeration of the rolls of Chancery in Ireland and other records which were consumed in an accidental fire at the Abbey of St. Mary, near Dublin. The memorandum also contains an inventory of official documents delivered to Walter de Thornbury, Chancellor for Edward II. in Ireland, by the executors of Thomas Cantok, Bishop of Emly, his predecessor in office, who died A.D. 1308-9.

Poem on  
Sir Piers De  
Berming-  
ham.

#### IV.—ANGLO-IRISH POEM ON DEATH OF SIR PIERS DE BERMINGHAM.

—This and the poem represented on the next plate are the most ancient specimens now known of Anglo-Irish composition in English verse.

Sir Piers de Bermingham, whose death took place in 1308, held a prominent place among the military leaders of the settlement in Ireland. The author of this poem declares that there never was a better knight or more noble warrior on steed, with spear and shield, or in wood or field of battle. He praises the achievements of Sir Piers against his Irish enemies, and declares that he ever rode about with strength to "hunt them out as hunter doth the hare." The writer says that the English settlers sorely weep for the death of Sir Piers, and that all their knights make moan for him who was one of the best of them.

Anglo-  
Irish  
Satirical  
Poem.

V.—ANGLO-IRISH SATIRICAL POEM, ASCRIBED TO FRIAR MICHAEL OF KILDARE.—This poem consists of twenty stanzas, each of six lines. The author admonishes the Dominican Friars of Drogheda, as well as other religious orders. He also censures and inveighs against the sordidness and chicanery of merchants, tailors, shoe-makers, skimmers, potters, bakers, brewers, huxters, and wool-combers. To each class he devotes a stanza.

The volume in which these poems are preserved is of vellum, small in size, ornamented with coloured initial letters, and apparently transcribed about A.D. 1308. From an entry on one of its pages it would appear to have been in the possession of George Wise, Mayor of Waterford in the sixteenth century. It has been long among the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum.

Poem on  
town of  
Rosse.

In addition to the poems mentioned, the book contains some miscellaneous pieces, amongst which is the most complete early specimen extant of a narrative in old French verse composed in Ireland on a local topic. The theme of this interesting and unique composition, which will be found in full in our Appendix, is the entrenchment of the town of Rosse, in the thirteenth century. The late eminent scholar, Sir Frederick Madden, of the British Museum, attached a high value to this poem, which is entitled "Rithmus facture ville de Rosse," and opens thus :—

"Talent me prent de rimaunceir  
Sil vous plet de escoteir  
Kar parole qe nest oïé  
ne uaut pas vn aillié  
pur ce vous prie descoter  
si me oies ben auer

de vne vile en ireland  
le plus bele de sa grand  
qe ie sache en nule terc.  
mes poure auoint de vn gerre  
qe fu par entre deus barouns  
vei ci escrit amdeus lur nuns--

The poem was translated as follows, by Letitia Elizabeth Landon :—

"I have a whim to speak in verse,  
If you will list what I rehearse,  
For an unheeded tale, I wisse,  
Not worth a clove of garlic is.  
Please you, then, to understand,  
'Tis of a town in Ireland,

For its size the one most fair  
That I know of anywhere.  
But the town had cause of dread  
In the feud two barons spread ;  
Sir Maurice and Sir Walter—see,  
Here their names shall written be ;

Poem on  
town of  
Rosse.

Also that fair city's name—  
Rosse they then did call the same,  
'Tis the new bridge-town of Rosse,  
Which no walls did then enclose ;  
It therefore feared a strangers's blows.  
Commons both, and leading men,  
Gathered in the council then,  
What for safety to devise,  
In shortest time and lowest price :  
'Twas that round the town be thrown  
Walls of mortar and of stone.  
For this war filled them with fear ;  
Much they dreaded broil so near.  
Candlemas it was the day  
They began to delve in clay,  
Making out a foss, to shew  
Where the future wall should go.  
Soon 'twas traced, and then were hired  
Workmen ; all, the task desired.  
More than a hundred workmen ply,  
Daily, 'neath the townsmen's eye ;  
Yet small advance these fellows made,  
Though to labour they were paid.  
So the council met again ;  
Such a law as they pass'd then !  
Such a law might not be found,  
Nor on French nor English ground.  
Next day a summons read aloud,  
Gathered, speedily, a crowd ;  
When the law proclaimed they hear,  
'Twas received with many a cheer,  
Then a good man did advance,  
And explained the ordinance,  
Vintners, drapers, merchants, all  
Were to labour at the wall,  
From the early morning time,  
Till the day was in its prime.  
More than a thousand men, I say,  
Went to the goodly work each day ;

Monday, they began their labours,  
Gay, with banners, flutes and tabours ;  
Soon as the noon-hour was come,  
These good people hastened home,  
With their banners proudly borne.  
Then the youth advanced in turn,  
And the town, they made it ring,  
With their merry carolling ;  
Singing loud and full of mirth,  
Away they go to shovel earth.

And the priests, when mass  
was chanted,  
In the foss they dug and panted ;  
Quicker, harder, worked each brother,  
Harder, far, than any other ;  
For both old and young did feel  
Great and strong, with holy zeal.  
Mariners came next, and they  
Pass'd along in fair array,  
With their banners borne before,  
Which a painted vessel bore.  
Full six hundred were they then ;  
But full eleven hundred men  
Would have gathered by the wall,  
If they had attended all.

Tuesday came, coat-makers, tailors,  
Fullers, cloth-dyers, and 'sellers' ;  
Right good hands, these jolly blades,  
Were they counted at their trades.  
Away they worked like those before,  
Though the others numbered more ;  
Scarce four hundred did they stand,  
But they were a worthy band.

Wednesday, following, down there  
came  
Other bands, who worked the same ;  
Butchers, cordwainers, and tanners,  
Bearing each their separate banners,  
Painted as might appertain  
To their craft, and 'mid the train,  
Many a brave bachelor ;  
Small and great, when numbered o'er,  
Singing as they worked their song,  
Just three hundred were they strong.

Thursday came, the fishermen  
And the hucksters followed then,  
Who sell corn and fish : they bear  
Divers banners, for they were  
Full four hundred ; and the crowd  
Carrolled and sung aloud ;  
And the wainwrights they came too—  
They were only thirty-two ;  
A single banner went before,  
Which a fish and platter bore.\*

But on Saturday the stir  
Of blacksmith, mason, carpenter,

\* "Friday's work is not translated as [owing to a defect in the MS.] there is no means of guessing at the trades. L.E.L."



Poem on  
town of  
Rosse.

Hundreds three with fifty told,  
Many were they true and bold;  
And they toiled with main and might,  
Needful knew they 'twas, and right.

Then on Sunday there came down  
All the dames of that brave town;  
Know, good labourers were they,  
But their numbers none may say.  
On the ramparts there were thrown,  
By their fair hands many a stone;  
Who had there a gazer been,  
Many a beauty might have seen.  
Many a scarlet mantle too,  
Or of green or russet hue;  
Many a fair cloak had they,  
And robes dight with colours gay.  
In all lands where I have been,  
Such fair dames working I've not seen.  
He who had to choose the power,  
Had been born in lucky hour.  
Many a banner was displayed,  
While the work the ladies aid;  
When their gentle hands had done  
Piling up rude heaps of stone,  
Then they walked the foss along,  
Singing sweet a cheerful song;  
And returning to the town,  
All these rich dames there sat down:  
Where, with mirth, and wine, and  
song,

Pass'd the pleasant hours along.  
Then they said a gate they'd make,  
Called the 'Ladies', for their sake,  
And their prison there should be;  
Whoso entered straightway he  
Should forego his liberty.  
Lucky doom I ween is his,  
Who a lady's prisoner is;  
Light the fetters are to wear  
Of a lady kind and fair:  
But of them enough is said  
Turn we to the foss instead.  
Twenty feet that foss is deep,  
And a league in length doth creep.  
When the noble work is done,  
Watchmen then there needeth none;

All may sleep in peace and quiet,  
Without fear of evil riot.  
Fifty thousand might attack,  
And yet turn them bootless back.  
Warlike stores there are enough,  
Bold assailant to rebuff.  
We have hauberks many a one,  
Savage, garçon, haubergeon;  
Doublets too, and coats of mail,  
Yew-bows good, withouten fail.  
In no city have I seen  
So many good glaives, I ween.  
Cross-bows, hanging on the wall,  
Arrows too to shoot withal;  
Every house is full of maces,  
And good shields and talevaces.  
Cross-bow men when numbered o'er,  
Are three hundred and three score;  
And three hundred archers shew,  
Ready with a gallant bow;  
And three thousand men advance,  
Armed with battle-axe and lance;  
Above a hundred knights who wield  
Arms aye ready for the field.  
'I warrant you the town's prepared  
'Gainst all enemies to guard.  
Here I deem it meet to say,  
No desire for war have they,  
But to keep their city free,  
Blamed of no man can they be.  
When the wall is carried round,  
None in Ireland will be found  
Bold enough to dare to fight.  
Let a foeman come in sight,  
If the city horn twice sound  
Every burgess will be found  
Eager in the warlike labour,  
Striving to outdo his neighbour;  
God give them the victory!  
Say Amen for charity.  
In no other isle is known  
Such a hospitable town;  
Joyously the people greet  
Every stranger in their street.  
Free is he to sell and buy,  
And sustain no tax thereby.  
Town and people once again  
I commend to God. Amen.

From the archives of the Exchequer we learn that Rosse was a place of much commercial activity at the period of the composition of this

poem. On plate LXXXI. in the second part of our publication is reproduced a letter, addressed to Edward I., in connexion with the trade rivalry between Rosse and Waterford.

VI.—ORMONDE RED BOOK.—The “Red Book” of the Earls of Ormonde is a vellum folio containing charters, surveys, rentals and other documents connected with the family of Le Botiller, transcribed apparently towards the commencement of the fourteenth century, but with some entries of later date. This volume was usually accepted in courts of justice as a legal record. On its last leaf is a partly obliterated entry signed by Thomas Butler in 1612, stating that the volume then contained fifty-four “whole leaves.” This RED BOOK narrowly escaped destruction by fire in 1839. Portions of it were consumed, or much scorched, but no leaf was entirely lost, as, by direction of the present Dowager Marchioness of Ormonde, the surviving fragments were, with great care, collected, repaired and bound, under the superintendence of the late Sir Frederick Madden, who regarded it as “a remarkable instance of a monument of family history rescued from oblivion and almost destruction.” On the present plate is reproduced one of the least injured pages, containing copies of portions of two grants. By the first, executed about A.D. 1200, Theobald Walter, founder of the house of Ormonde in Ireland, granted lands to establish an hospital under the patronage of St. John, at Nenagh, in Tipperary, for Canons of the Rule of St. Augustine. They were bound to receive the sick, to maintain for them thirteen beds and to give each infirm person daily a whole loaf, with drink from the cellar, and at least one dish of meat from the kitchen. The Canons were authorized to choose their own Prior, and to establish a convent when their members should have been adequately augmented.

By the second grant, given in facsimile on this page, Prince John confirmed, in favour of Geoffroi de Marreis, a charter executed by John Comyn, Archbishop of Dublin, in relation to Hollywood, in the county of Dublin, and other lands.

VII.—RIGHTS OF THE OSTMEN OF WATERFORD.—On the Plea Roll from which the extract here given has been copied are recorded proceedings at Waterford before John Wogan, Viceroy in Ireland, in the fourth year of Edward II., A.D. 1310–11, in relation to a charge of felony against Robert le Waleys, for having killed John, son of Yvor Macgille-mory. From this document are taken the following interesting details, illustrating the administration, in the fourteenth century, of the English law, or “*lex Anglicorum in Hibernia*,” as applied to descendants of Scandinavian settlers in Ireland, known under the designation of Ostmen:—

“One Robert le Waleys, clerk, had killed one John, son of Yvor Mac Gille-mory, and on his trial at Waterford he admitted having killed the deceased, but pleaded that it was no felony, because he was a mere Irishman and not of free blood, and that he would be ready, on the demand of the lord whose Irishman John was at the time of his death, to pay for

Ostmen of Waterford. him as justice required. To this, one John, son of John, son of Robert le Poer, who appeared for the Crown, replied that the deceased was entitled to the benefit of the law of the English in Ireland; and he alleged in support of such reply a charter of Henry II., and another of Edward I., which recited and confirmed the former. The latter only was produced, and by it that privilege was granted to Gillecrist, William, and John Mac Gillemory, and other Ostmen of the city and county (or of the citizens and commonalty) of Waterford who were descended from certain Ostmen of King Henry II. of the surname of Mac Gillemory. And the prosecutor prayed judgment against Robert le Waleys for the death of John, son of Yvor Mac Gillemory, who, he said, was of the family of the Gillecrist, William, and John Mac Gillemory named in the charter produced. The Justiciary, however, referred the matter to be inquired into by a jury, and from their answer we learn the occasion of the original charter. It appears that when Henry II. first went to Ireland, there was a certain (Ostman) chief, named Reginald (or Reynold) Mac Gillemory, who resided at Reynaud's Castle, near the port of Waterford, where in the jurors' time there was an ancient deserted mote, and, having heard of the King's coming, and of his intention to land his army at Waterford, endeavoured, by means of three large iron chains thrown across the harbour, to frustrate the attempt. The King succeeded, and having taken Reginald and his adherents prisoners, he hanged them as rebels: and he expelled all the other Ostmen whom he found dwelling in the city, except one faithful man named Gerald Mac Gillemory, who lived in a tower, which at the time of the inquiry was very old and ruinous, opposite the Friars Preachers' Church within the walls. To those expelled the King assigned certain places without the walls for their abodes, and they built there a town, which at the time of the inquiry was called the Town of the Ostmen of Waterford. Within the city the King placed divers men who had accompanied him, and granted them various privileges. In consequence of the great fidelity of the Ostman Gerald Mac Gillemory, he had security for life and limb, and he and his people were allowed to continue to reside in his tower within the walls. Sometime after Henry had gone back to England, probably on a Sunday or some holiday, when many of the citizens had come out of the city with their wives and others of their families to divert themselves in the fields, the Ostmen that dwelt outside the walls attacked them, and, having killed the men, carried off their wives. This led to a war between the citizens and the Ostmen of the Ostmen's town, which lasted a considerable time. Gerald Mac Gillemory, who was still living in his tower, faithfully defended the city as well against the Ostmen who had been expelled, some of whom were his kinsmen, as against all others who were on their side, until the King's second arrival. Henry, having heard of his fidelity, upon his request granted to him, and to others of his kindred who were Ostmen of Waterford, that they should thenceforth have the benefit of the law of the English in Ireland. The jury found also (among

other things) that the deceased was a descendant of the Gerald Mac Gille-mory to whom the original grant had been made ; and that he was killed by the accused Robert le Waleys, because he had been one of a jury who had charged the accused with being a robber, and harbouring robbers ; and also that all the Mac Gille-morys were reputed to have come from Denom or Devoin (for the word is obscure) in Ireland, long before the conquest of it by the English. The result was, that the accused was sent back to prison to await judgment, but was afterwards let out on bail.”\*

Ostmen of  
Waterford.

VIII.—ANCIENT IRISH OR BREHON LAW.—A typical specimen of this class of manuscript is afforded by the present plate. It represents a page from a treatise, apparently of the early part of the fourteenth century, on stock-tenures, options in tenure, and securities. The matter is divided into two columns, written in large and solid Irish characters, with considerable interlinear spaces filled with glosses and commentaries in minute writing. The translation is from that given under the direction of the Commission for the transcription and translation of the Ancient Laws of Ireland. A facsimile of a Gaelic law-treatise, of later date and smaller dimensions, appears on Plate LVIII. of the present publication.

IX.—“WHITE BOOK” OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN.—This volume, transcribed between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries, consists of copies of documents, connected with the properties and rights of the city of Dublin. The page here represented contains a copy of a charter by which Prince John granted the site of a mill at Dublin to be held by the annual service of a falcon. The remainder of the page is occupied with transcripts of instruments, A.D. 1230 and 1236, in relation to lands of the city of Dublin. The “White Book” was anciently in the custody of the Corporate legal officials, but it entirely disappeared towards the close of the seventeenth century. In 1829, an anonymous ancient manuscript described as a “Transcript of the charter and liberties of Dublin,” was sold at a public auction in that city and purchased by Sir William Betham, Ulster King of Arms. He erroneously conjectured the volume to be a “Doomsday Book of Dublin,” and under that designation it was bought from him by the Municipal Corporation. The manuscript continued to be generally regarded as the “Doomsday Book” until, from internal evidence, and the collation of portions of the volume with independent documents, I was enabled to identify it as the long-missing “Liber Albus,” or “White Book” of the city of Dublin.

Dublin  
White  
Book.

X.—THE CHAIN BOOK OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN is smaller in size than the “White Book,” and was apparently commenced in the early part of

Dublin  
Chain  
Book.

\* *Archæologia*, 1857. xxxvii.—The contents of the original record, in continuation from plate vii., will be found in our Appendix iii. The concluding portion is much obliterated, with the exception of the following:—“Ideo predictus Robertus le Waleys recom-mitatur gaule pro iudicio suo exspectando etc. Et data est ei dies de iudicio suo audiendo coram etc. a die Pasche in xv. dies ubicunque etc. Postea de gratia etc. predictus Robertus le Waleys dimittitur per manucapcionem. Et de eius manucapcione patet in rotulo de manucapcione de hoc termino etc.”

Dublin  
Chain  
Book.

the fourteenth century, with a calendar in black, blue, and red, for the twelve months of the year. The writing in the other portions of the book of earliest date is large and excellent, with blue and red capitals and colophons. In addition to the regulations for the city and citizens, a page of which is represented on this plate, the volume contains the only copy known, in old French, of "*Les Leys et les usages de la cyte de Diueline*"—the laws and usages of the city of Dublin. Among the subjects of those laws and usages are the following:—Exemption of the citizens from trial by wager of battle, landgable, ale, summons, bakers, neifs and bonderie, evidence of foreigners, removal of chattels, apprentices, distraint, places set on lease, proof of tally and letters, rates for fines, amercements in connexion with mayor, jurats, and citizens, fresche-force, waste ground, pleas in court Christian and outside the liberty, leaseholders, bequests by will, summons in fair, making of charters, view and inquest on persons killed,\* miskennyng, thieves, clerics not to be hung, malice of bailiffs, legal distraint, proof of tally, breach of contract, denarius Dei, giving of earnest, distraint in chamber, inveigling servants, delays in writ of right, latrines, writ de morte antecessoris, hue-and-cry, tenure by curtesie d'Engleterre, fugitives to sanctuary, oath of abjuration, hogs, lepers, pleaders, fire, rent, vouching warrant, taking surety, bakers, leases, sale of inheritance, claim of inheritance, parcheminers, derne hundred, millers, kilns, feasts of courtesy, bailiffs' accounts, feoffments, writs, loans from foreigners, essoigne, forestalling by religious houses, distraint by foreigners, arrests by city sergeant, etc.

Several leaves of the "Chain Book" have been lost, and many of those which remain are much injured. On some of them appear entries, made with little care in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The oaken covers of the book still retain the traces of the fastenings of the chain by which the volume was secured in former times in the Dublin Guild-Hall, and from which it received its name. The "Chain Book" is cited in the old Dublin municipal records as a standard authority on the laws and regulations of that city.

Grant from  
Edward II.  
to Edmund  
Le Botiller.

XI.—GRANT FROM EDWARD II. TO EDMUND LE BOTILLER.—By this grant Edward II., in consideration of the good service rendered by Edmund Le Botiller, Earl of Carrick Mac Griffin, in Tipperary, granted to him and his heirs the return of all royal writs in the cantreds of Ormonde, Eliogarty, and Ely O'Carroll, in that county. The grant, preserved among the Ormonde Archives, was passed under the King's hand at Lincoln, on the 1st of September, in the year 1315, and, as shown on the plate, an impression of the Great Seal of England is still pendant from it. Edmund Le Botiller, to whom this grant was made, died in 1321, after his return from a pilgrimage to Compostella in Spain, and was succeeded by his son James, who, seven years subsequently, was created Earl of Ormonde.

\* Further details in relation to these laws will be found in "*Historic and Municipal Documents of Ireland*." Edited by J. T. Gilbert, F.S.A. London: Longmans, 1870.



XII.—BULL OF POPE JOHN, A.D. 1317.—This instrument was issued from Avignon for the purpose of detaching the Irish clergy from the cause of Edward Bruce, who had come to Ireland on the invitation of a portion of the people, by whom he was accepted as King. Pope John, in this Bull, enjoined the Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, and the Dean of the Church of Dublin to warn ecclesiastics to desist from exciting the Irish people against the King of England; and to publicly excommunicate all those who, after this notice, should persist in that course. The Bull, of large size and elegant caligraphy, furnishes a fine specimen of writings of its class.

XIII.—PASSPORT FROM THOMAS FITZ JOHN, SECOND EARL OF KILDARE. —This small document, which extends to only six lines, was issued during the period when portions of Ireland were occupied by Edward Bruce and his adherents. The passport is dated at Kildare on the Monday after the Circumcision, A.D. 1317. By it the Earl of Kildare notifies that the bearer, William, is his faithful man, and requests that he may be cared for, protected, and defended till the ensuing Feast of the Purification.

XIV.—EXCHANGE OF IRISH AND ANGLO-IRISH PRISONERS.—The portion here represented of a Memorandum Roll of the Exchequer in Ireland of King Edward II., A.D. 1325, contains contemporary transcripts of Latin and French documents recorded in that court, in connexion with the liberation of Manus O'Byrne from durance in Dublin Castle. The Viceroy, D'Arcy, by his letters here given, at the request of the Earl of Kildare, authorized the Constable of Dublin Castle, to liberate Manus, on condition that his father, Murragh O'Byrne, would in return surrender Simon and William Laweles and Alexander Bernagh, who had lately been taken prisoners by the Irish in an engagement. The documents include two viceregal letters in French, and others, in Latin, from Murragh O'Byrne and Hugh Laweles.

XV.—GRANT OF REGALITIES AND PALATINATE OF TIPPERARY TO JAMES LE BOTILLER, FIRST EARL OF ORMONDE, A.D. 1337.—James le Botiller, to whom this grant was made, had been created first Earl of Ormonde in Tipperary in 1328, by Edward III., to whom he was allied, having married Eleanor Bohun, whose mother, Elizabeth, was daughter to King Edward I. This document, with the seal of King Edward III., as exhibited in the present plate, is preserved among the Ormonde Archives in Kilkenny Castle.

XVI.—THE MISSAL OF ABBEY OF ST. THOMAS, DUBLIN, is a fine volume, which originally belonged to the Augustinian Monastery, founded in the western suburbs of Dublin by Henry II. in honor of Thomas Becket. A specimen of an ancient chartulary of this house has been given on plate LXXXVII. in the second part of our publication. The pages of the missal reproduced on the present plate contain the commencement of ceremonial for the ordination of the Abbot of the Dublin Monastery of St. Thomas. This missal passed into the hands of Thomas Tenison,

Archbishop of Canterbury, and, on the dispersion of his collection, was acquired by the British Museum.

Anglo-Irish  
Annals.

XVII.—**ANGLO-IRISH ANNALS.**—Of this manuscript, apparently written in the fourteenth century, there now survive but a few pages, one of which, reproduced on the present plate, contains annals from A.D. 1308 to 1309. Among the most interesting entries on this page is that which records the retirement of Geoffroi de Joinville,\* brother to the historian of St. Louis, into the Monastery of the Dominicans at Trim, after having resigned his rights as Lord of a moiety of Meath to Roger de Mortimer, who had married his grand-daughter.

Chartulary  
of Priory of  
St. John of  
Jerusalem.

XVIII.—**THE CHARTULARY OF THE ANGLO-IRISH PRIORY OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM**, of which the first page appears on this plate, is a fine specimen of caligraphy, written in large letters. It furnishes transcripts of grants made by the prior and brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland, in the early part of the fourteenth century. By the instrument represented on this page, Friar Roger Outlawe, Prior of the Hospital, and the brethren, in consideration of services rendered by Master Roger Laweles, grant to him, during life, the right of sustentation in their house at Kilmainham, near Dublin, for himself, his chamberlain, and attendant, with food, drink, and necessities such as the Preceptor there receives for himself, his chamberlain, and attendant. Roger Outlawe, or Utlagh, the Prior of this Preceptory, was for a time Chancellor as well as Chief Governor for the King of England in Ireland.

Declaration  
of Anglo-  
Irish.

XIX.—**DECLARATION OF ANGLO-IRISH AGAINST SENDING REPRESENTATIVES TO ENGLAND.**—This plate contains facsimiles of three documents connected with the contentions which arose between the Anglo-Irish and the representatives of the Crown of England during the viceroyalty of Sir William de Windsor, in the latter years of the reign of Edward III.

The first instrument is a viceregal writ issued at Clonmel, in 1375, to the Sheriff of the county of Dublin, in relation to the election of representatives to be sent to England to consult and agree with the King and Council there on the grant of a subsidy towards the cost of maintaining and defending the English territories.

The second document is the official answer of Reginald Talbot, Sheriff of the county of Dublin, to the preceding writ. He sets forth that the nobles and commons have unanimously declared that, according to their rights, liberties, and customs, they are not bound to send representatives to England for the purpose named in the writ. They state, however, that from their respect for King Edward, and with the object of explaining to him the ruin and poverty of his subjects in Ireland, they have elected Nicholas Houth and Richard White as their representatives to his Highness, but they reserve entirely to themselves all matters in relation to the imposition of taxes.

\* For facsimile of letter of Geoffroi de Joinville from Dublin in 1276, see plate lxiv. in the Second Part of the present work.

The third document represented on the plate is a list of those who elected Nicholas Houth and Richard White as their representatives.

XX.—TRANSFER OF KILKENNY CASTLE TO JAMES, EARL OF ORMONDE. Transfer of Kilkenny Castle.  
—The Castle of Kilkenny, built by William Maréchal, who married Isabel,\* the grand-daughter of Dermod MacMurragh, King of Leinster, had, through the failure of male heirs, passed to Sir Hugh le Despencer, Earl of Gloucester. With many lands and rights it was purchased from him in 1392, by James, third Earl of Ormonde, who had previously resided at his own Castle at Gowran. Two of the documents connected with the transfer, and bearing the seal of Despencer, are reproduced on the present plate. Since 1392, the Castle of Kilkenny has been the chief seat of the Ormonde family, and these documents are still preserved there.

XXI.—ACQUITTANCE FROM SIR HUGH LE DESPENCER.—By this small document, under his seal, Sir Hugh le Despencer released the Earl of Ormonde from all obligations in connexion with the purchase of Kilkenny Castle and his lands and rights in Ireland.

XXII.—LETTER FROM KING RICHARD II.—This letter, in French, Letter from Richard II. was, on the 1st of February, 1395, despatched, under the royal signet, from Dublin by King Richard to his uncle, the Duke of York, Guardian of England, and the Privy Council there. The King states that in his land of Ireland there are three sorts of people, namely—unsubdued Irish, his enemies,—Irish rebels—and loyal English. The King and his Council consider that some of the Irish have become rebels in consequence of wrongs inflicted on them, and propose that general pardons should be granted on payment of fees, and that a Parliament should be convened at Dublin after the ensuing Easter.

XXIII. — ASTRONOMICAL TREATISE. — Of this curious treatise in Astronomical Treatise. Latin, with a Gaelic commentary, only a fragment, consisting of a few leaves, now survives. They are discoloured by age, and in parts almost illegible. From one of the clearest of them the specimen with the diagram on the present plate has been reproduced.

XXIV.—THE YELLOW BOOK OF LECAN, or *Leabhar Buidhe Lecain*, Yellow Book of Lecan. is the surviving portion of a folio vellum volume in Gaelic, chiefly transcribed, it would appear, by Donogh and Gilla Isa Mac Firbis, at Lecan in Connacht, about the end of the fourteenth century. Its contents are miscellaneous, consisting of biblical, historical, romantic, and legal pieces. From one of its pages has been reproduced, on this plate, the plan of the banqueting-hall of Tara, of which a drawing of earlier date has been given on page LIII. of the second part of our publication. Among the interesting compositions preserved in the YELLOW BOOK OF LECAN is the ancient Gaelic tale of “Deirdriu and the exile of the sons of Uisle,” or Uisnech. This tale, known among the old Irish as one of their “three sorrowful stories,” will be found in its entirety in our

\* See facsimile of charter by William Maréchal and his wife, Isabel, plate lxix., in part ii. of the present work.

Appendix No. IV., with an English version by the late Professor Eugene O'Curry. I may here mention, that from O'Curry's successor, Professor B. O'Looney, M.R.I.A., I have received valuable assistance in relation to the Old Gaelic MSS. illustrated in the present portion of this work.

Book of  
Ballimote.

XXV.-XXVII.—THE BOOK OF BALLIMOTE is one of the largest surviving volumes, both in size and extent, now known in the old Gaelic language. It consists of about two hundred and fifty leaves of large and thick vellum, written in solid and bold Irish characters, with many coloured initial letters, some of which are of great dimensions. It acquired its name from Ballimote, in the county of Sligo, where it was compiled, about A.D. 1390, at the residence of Tomaltach Mac Donogh, Lord of Coran in that district, chiefly by Solomon O'Droma and Manus O'Duigenan. The contents of the BOOK OF BALLIMOTE include genealogies, histories, legends, law treatises, poems, translations from Latin, and a treatise on the characters known as "Ogham." A page containing the commencement of the genealogy of the O'Neills in Latin and Irish is reproduced on Plate XXV. On the two succeeding plates are given specimens in colours of several of the ornamental letters of the manuscript. From an entry on one of its leaves we learn that the BOOK OF BALLIMOTE was, in 1522, sold by the Mac Donoghs to Aed O'Donel, surnamed *Dubh*, or the swarthy, Lord of Tirconnel, for one hundred and forty milch cows. It has been for many years in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

Leabhar  
Breac.

XXVIII.—LEABHAR BREAC—THE SPECKLED BOOK—OTHERWISE CALLED LEABHAR MÓR DÚNA DOIGHRE, is a large folio vellum volume, transcribed towards the close of the fourteenth century from old writings. Its compilation is ascribed to the Mac Egans, eminent Irish scholars and professors of the Irish law, some of whom resided at Dun Doighre, now Duniry, in the county of Galway, whence the name of the "Book of Dun Doighre," has been occasionally applied to the present volume. The contents of the LEABHAR BREAC are chiefly of an ecclesiastical character. One of the most important of them is the *Feliré*, or Calendar of Saints, written in Gaelic verse. This is ascribed to Oengus, an humble and ascetic monk, surnamed *Cele Dé*, who is stated to have composed it in the ninth century, at the monastery of Tallaght, near Dublin, and in other parts of Leinster. The page of LEABHAR BREAC containing the commencement of the prologue and part of the introduction to the *Feliré* is reproduced on the present plate. In the prologue we are given details of the circumstances under which the poem was produced, together with an explanation of the metre, styled *rinn ard*, in which it is written.

In the Preface, which extends to many stanzas, the author dilates on the tortures and sufferings of the early Christian Martyrs, and observes that the names of the persecutors are forgotten while their victims are remembered with honour, veneration, and affection. Even in our own

country, writes Oengus, the enduring supremacy of the Church of Christ is made manifest, for Tara's glory has vanished, while great Ard Macha (Armagh) is the frequented seat of knowledge. The pride and pomp of the monarch Laeghaire are extinguished, while Patrick's name continues to shine with lustre. Cruachan, the royal residence of the kings of Connacht, is deserted, while Cluainmicnois resounds with the praise of Saint Ciaran. The royal palace of Aillinn in Leinster, has passed away, while Cilldara (Kildare), the town of Brigit, is great and populous. Of Emania, the royal palace of the Ulstermen, the stones only remain, while Glendaloch of Saint Kevin is the Rome of the western world. Mighty Kings, he adds, have been cast down, and lowly saints have been crowned.

Leabhar  
Breac.

The main poem, or body of the *Feliré*, consists of twelve monthly parts, each occupying two pages of the manuscript. The months are divided into Calends, Nones, and Ides, and the various Saints are mentioned on their respective days, with allusions to their lives and acts. The month of December is followed by a lengthy epilogue also in verse. Oengus, in this, explains the arrangement of his work, directs the faithful how to read and use it, and says that though great the number of saints in it, he has only been able to enumerate the more eminent of them. He recommends it to the pious study of the faithful, and points out the spiritual benefits to be gained by reading or reciting it. He says that he travelled far and near to collect the names and the history of the subjects of his praise and invocation; that for the foreign saints he has consulted Ambrose, Hilary, Jerome, and Eusebius; and that from "the hosts of books and calendars of Erin," he gathered the festivals of the Irish saints. Having already mentioned and invoked the saints at their respective festival days, he next invokes them in classes or bands, under heads or leaders, in the following order:—The Archangels, under Michael; the elders or ancients, under Noah; the prophets, under Isaiah; the patriarchs, under Abraham; the apostles and disciples, under Peter; the wise or learned men, under Paul; the martyrs, under Stephen; the anchorites, under old Paul; the virgins of the world, under the Blessed Virgin Mary; the holy bishops of Rome, under Peter; the bishops of Jerusalem, under James; the bishops of Antioch, also under Peter; the bishops of Alexandria, under Mark; a division, under Honoratus; a body of learned men, under the gifted Benedict; the Innocents who suffered at Bethlehem, under Georgius; the priests, under Aaron; the monks, under Anthony; a body of the saints of the world, under Martin; the noble saints of Erin, under Patrick, their chief; the saints of Alba [Scotland], under Colum Cille; and the last great division of the saintly virgins of Erin, under holy Brigit, of Cilldara, or Kildare. Oengus then beseeches the mercy of the Saviour for himself and all mankind, through the virtues and sufferings of the saints whom he enumerated, through the merits of their innocent blood, their dismembered bodies, pierced with lances, their wounds, their groans, their relics, their blanched countenances, their

Leabhar  
Breac.

bitter tears ; through all the sacrifices offered of Christ's body and blood, as in Heaven, upon holy altars ; through the blood which flowed from the Saviour's side ; through His humanity ; and through His divinity, in unity with the Holy Spirit and the Heavenly Father. Oengus adds that the brethren of his order deemed all his prayers and petitions too meagre ; and thereupon, he says, that he will change his course, so that no one may have cause to complain. He then commences another appeal to the Lord, for himself and all men, beseeching mercy according to the merciful worldly interposition of the divine mercy in times past—such as the saving of Elias and Enoch from the dangers of the world ; of Noah from the Deluge ; of Abraham from the power of the Chaldeans ; of Lot from the burning city ; of Jonas from the whale ; of Isaac from the hands of his father ; and Thecla from the beast. He beseeches Jesus, through the intercession of His mother, to save him as Jacob was saved from the hands of his brother, and Paul from the venom of the viper. He returns to the examples in the Old Testament, beginning with the saving of David from the sword of Goliath ; of Susannah from her dangers ; of Nineveh in time of plague ; of Daniel from the lions' den ; of Moses from the hands of Pharaoh ; of the three youths from the fiery furnace ; of Tobias from his blindness ; of Peter and Paul from the dungeon ; of Job from the demoniacal tribulations ; of David from Saul ; of Joseph from the hands of his brethren ; of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage ; of Peter from the waves of the sea ; of John from the fiery cauldron ; of Sampson from the perils of the city ; of Martin from the priests of the idol. In conclusion, Oengus again implores Jesus, through the intercession of the Heavenly household, to save him as he saved Patrick from poisoned drink at Tara, and Kevin, of Glendaloch, from the perils of the mountain.

Among the pieces not of an ecclesiastical or religious character in the LEABHAR BREAC is a facetious and satirical composition styled *Aislinge Meic Conglinné* or the dream of Mac Conglinné. The author is represented to have been a distinguished ecclesiastical student at Armagh in the eighth century. His wayward tendencies, however, induced him to abandon theological studies and devote himself to poetry and satire. He visits Cathal, son of Fingin, King of Munster, who suffers from a voracious appetite, caused by a "*Lonchraes*," or Demon of Gluttony, which has entered his stomach. Mac Conglinné obtains an interview with the King, and undertakes to cure him. He describes in verse his dream, in which he fancies himself to have been ferried over a lake of new milk, in a boat of beef, to an island of wheaten bread, with a mansion composed of butter and other viands, the door-keeper of which is attired in garments of beef, curds, fish, and butter. A phantom imparts to Mac Conglinné the course which he should pursue, and by following this advice, he succeeds in enticing the demon to come forth from the King, who is thus cured.

Portions of the LEABHAR BREAC, especially those which contain the

*Feliré*, of Oengus, written in large characters, intercalated with minute interlinear glosses and commentaries, may be classed among the finest specimens extant of the Irish penmanship of its age. The volume is decorated with coloured ornamental initial letters, and of these specimens are given on Plate XXIX. A complete lithographic facsimile of the LEABHAR BREAC, executed under my supervision, was published, in 1876, by the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

XXX.—CORMAC'S GLOSSARY.—Cormac Mac Cullenain, to whom is ascribed the compilation of this *Sanasan* or Glossary, in Latin and Irish, was elected King of Munster in A.D. 896. He was subsequently Bishop of Cashel, and is described in the native annals as "a king, a bishop, an anchorite, a scribe, and remarkable scholar in the Gaelic language." Cormac was killed, A.D., 903, in a battle at Bealach Mughna, now Ballaghmoon, in Kildare. It is noteworthy that the author of the GLOSSARY defined the sword as the "remedy for every injustice." In reference to Cormac's death, an old Gaelic author wrote as follows:—

"Why should not the heart repine and the mind sicken at this dreadful deed, the killing and the mangling, with horrid arms, of this holy man, the most learned of all who came or will come of the men of Erin for ever? The complete master of Gaelic, and Latin, the archbishop, most pious, most pure, miraculous in chastity and prayer, a proficient in law, in every wisdom, knowledge, and science; a paragon of poetry and learning, head of charity and every virtue, and head of education; supreme king of the two provinces of Munster in his time."

The contents of CORMAC'S GLOSSARY remained obscure and unintelligible until the profound knowledge of ancient Gaelic writings acquired by the late Dr. John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry enabled them to elucidate, with great success, this remarkable monument of old Irish literature.

The page represented on plate XXX. is from the oldest perfect copy of CORMAC'S GLOSSARY now known. It is preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, and consists of eleven leaves, some parts of which are stained and almost obliterated. A lithographic facsimile of these leaves was prepared under my direction and appended to the edition of LEABHAR BREAC published in 1876. The style and matter of the entries in CORMAC'S GLOSSARY are exhibited in the following extracts from it:

"*Déach* [a metrical foot], i.e., *de-fuach*, i.e., the meeting of words, for *fuach* means a word. *Déach* is the smallest division of a word; it is a [technical] name for a syllable, not because it is a syllable, but because it is the materies of which words grow from the dissyllabic to the octosyllabic. As the Latin says, *unus non est numerus sed ab eo crescunt numeri*. The Gaelic poets reckon eight *déach*, and of these the first is called *díalt*, i.e., *dí-alt*, so styled because it contains no joint, and is not divided, as *cos* a foot. The second *déach* is called *recomharc*, i.e., from its meeting or union with another, i.e., the junction of a monosyllable with a monosyllable, as *Cormac* [*Cor-mac*]. The third *déach* is

Cormac's  
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called *iar-comharc*, i.e., *iar-comhracadh*, i.e., an addition to the first union, as *Cormacan* [*Cormac-an*]. The fourth *déach* is called *felis* [from *filledh*, to fold], because it folds, i.e., if four be folded on a tree or anything else, it folds equally about it; i.e., two on one side and two on the other; there is no unevenness in the number, for there is no odd syllable in either division, as *Murcertachan* [*Mur-cert-ach-an*]. Not so the *déach* which [next] follows, namely, *claenré*, the fifth *déach*: the reason that it is called *claenré* is because it is not divisible into two equal parts [it being made up of two and three] for three is heavier and more than two; for there are five syllables in *claenré* such as in *fianamalechar* [*Fian-am-al-ech-ar*]. The sixth *déach* is called *luibbenchosach*, i.e., *luib*, i.e., *luibne*, a finger of the hand and the parts extending from them upwards, that is, the palm and the radius as far as the joint of the shoulder; and it is to this member of the human body that this *déach* is compared: for there are six joints from the extremity of the finger to the joint of the shoulder, and there are six syllables in *luibbenchosach*, as *fianamhailecharadh* [*fian-amh-aíl-ech-ar-adh*]. The seventh *déach* is called *claidhemnus*, i.e., *claidemmanus*; the name *claidhem* is applied to the part extending from the top of the fingers to that joint which is between the shoulder and the *maethán*; there are seven joints in this region, and there are seven syllables in *claidhemnus*, as *fianamhailecharadhard* [*fian-amh-aíl-ech-ar-adh-ard*]. The eighth *déach* is called *bricht*, because it is *brigte* [exalted]; for it is of it the *nath* is composed. The most excellent of all those named *déach* is that of which the *nath* is composed, for the *nath* is the highest of all poetical compositions. There are eight joints from the extremity of the fingers to the *athgabhail* of the *maethán* of the shoulder, and there are eight syllables in a *bricht*, as *fianamhailecharadhardæ* [*fian-amh-aíl-ech-ar-adh-ar-dæ*].

“*Nescoit* [a boil].—It is in the history of the Gaels that when the battle of Magh Tuireadh was being fought, Goibhniu, the smith, was in the forge, making the weapons for the Tuatha De Dananns; and Luchtaine, the carpenter, was making the handles for the spears; and Creidne, the brazier, was making rivets for the same spears. The Scots say that Goibhne, the smith, made spears by three efforts, and the last was the completion. Luchtaine, too, made the handles by three chippings, and the last chipping made a finish. And thus Creidne made the rivets. Goibhne used to cast the spear-heads from the tongs, and they used to stick in the jamb of the door. Luchtaine used to cast the handles after them, and this was sufficient to adjust them; and Creidne used to throw the rivets from the top of the tongs, and this was enough to fasten them. While Goibhne was engaged at this thing, his wife was charged with a crime. This was made known to him, and he was grieved at the news and became jealous on account of it. And what he did on this occasion was this: he had a pole in his hand when he heard the story; *neas* was its name, and it was about it the ore furnace was made. He pronounced an incantation upon this pole, and he gave



a blow of it to every man that came in his way. If the man survived, a lump full of gory liquid and matter was raised upon him, and it burned the person like fire, for the form of the pole called *nes* was in the lump, and from this name it was called *nescoit*. *Nes*, i.e., a lump, and *coit*, i.e., matter. But *nes* is applied to four things, viz., *nes*, in the first place, is the name of an animal; *nes*, a name for a pole; *nes*, the ore furnace itself . . . *Nes* is also a name for a blow and for a wound, as is in the *Senchus Mor*:

‘From grains proceed all measurement;  
From the *Feine* all increase of wealth;  
In the *eric* for a man’s body,  
Though many are his wounds,  
The *nes* wound is graduated.’

“That is, according to the dignity [or importance] of the spot on which the wound is inflicted on the person, it is by it the *eric* is estimated. Verbi gratia, if it is in the face, or in the forehead, or in the chin, the blemish is marked, the *eric* is greater. As the *Senchus Mor* says: ‘If it is under the garments the blemish shall be, it is smaller,’ etc.

“*Ollamh*, i.e., *oll a dham* [great his retinue] i.e., twenty-four. *Ollamh*, i.e., *oll a uaimh* [great his cavern], i.e., as it is difficult to destroy a cavern which is in a cliff, so it is difficult to attack the poetry and learning of the *ollamh*. *Ollamh* also, i.e., *oll-eimh*, i.e., *oll di eimh*, i.e., great to expound and solve difficulties.

“*Prull*, i.e., great increase and augmentation, as the poetess, daughter of O’Dulsaine, said to Senchan Torpest: ‘*Hinum loscit mo di no prull*’—‘For whom burn my two great ears?’ A student of Senchan’s people responded: ‘*In cerd mac Ui Dulsaine o liaig dothairrsaig tull*.’—[For] the poet, the son of O’Dulsaine from Liag Dothairrsaig tull.’ This happened to Senchan on the following occasion. He prepared to go to [the Isle of] Manainn on a tour of pleasure, to make a visitation there; his retinue was fifty poets, besides students. There never was upon any other poet such a dress as Senchan had upon him, besides his poet’s robe, and the garments which the rest of the poets had upon them were the grandest among the men of the Gaels.

“When they had gone upon the sea and put the sterns [of their boats] to the land, an ill-visaged youth called after them. ‘Will ye permit me to go with you?’ said he. They all looked at him. They did not like his mien, or to let him [come] with them, as he was not a bird fit for their flock, on account of his hideous form. For, when he placed his finger on his forehead, streams of putrid matter issued from his ears backwards. Two cross-streams passed over the top of his head. Like the flowing out of his brain was what passed through, washing wholly his head and skull. They ceased not pouring out putrid matter. Rounder than a blackbird’s egg his two eyes; quicker than a millstone his glance; black as death his countenance; rounder than an elevating crane his two cheeks;

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longer than a smith's anvil-snout his nose ; like the blowing of a bellows smelting ore the inhaling and exhaling of his breath ; sledges would not knock more sparks off the glowing mass than the fire his lips emitted. More swift than the swallow or the hare on the plain ; yellower than gold the points of his teeth ; greener than holly their butts ; two bare, slender, very speckled shins under him ; two pointed, yellow, black-spotted heels ; his shin like a distaff ; his thigh like a spear handle ; his buttock like half a cheese ; his stomach like a sack ; his neck like the neck of a crane ; large as the helmet of a soldier his head ; longer than pitchforks his arms ; larger than the fists of bondsmen his fists. If the mottled rag which was about him were taken off, it would not be hard for it to go upon a journey alone, unless a stone were put upon it.

"He cried out with a loud voice, and said to Senchan : 'It would be more becoming in thee [to let me accompany thee] than the poets or that proud, haughty, powerful train which is with thee.' 'Be silent,' said Senchan ; 'after which thou mayest come.' 'We shall test him,' said he ; 'let him come upon the steer.' He went into the *currach* [boat], and, quicker than a mouse before a cat, or a griffin to its nest, or a hawk from the cliff, was the rush he made into the *currach*, and it was little but the *currach* was sunk, because they pressed before him on the one side ; he had the other side to himself, and they said with one voice : 'O Senchan, a monster has appeared, and he will be thy only company when we reach the land.' It was from that he was named Senchan *Torpest*, i.e., Senchan to whom the monster appeared.

"They afterwards proceeded to Manainn, and left their fleet on land. As they were on the shore, they saw a gray-haired feeble old woman on a rock . . . The hag was on the strand, gathering sea-weed and other products of the sea. Her feet and hands indicated aristocratic grade, but she had not good raiment upon her. She exhibited the ghastliness of starvation. This was a pity, for she was a poetess, the daughter of O'Dulsaine, of the Muscraide Liacthuill, in the country of the Uí-Fidhgenti, who had made a visitation of Erin and Alba [Scotland], during which all her people [attendants] died. Her brother, the poet, son of O'Dulsaine, went in quest of her throughout Erin [and Alba], but found her not. When this old woman saw the poets, she inquired who they were. One of them replied : 'Good is he to be inquired after : he is Senchan the poet of Erin.' 'Wilt thou submit, O Senchan,' said she, 'to my conversation ?' 'I will,' replied Senchan. She then said :

*'Nisium eolach innid adbaigh.*

*Ciasa feamnach bolgach bug.'*

'I am not acquainted with rest or happiness,  
But am with blistered soft sea-weed.'

'What is the corresponding distich to that ?' she asked. Senchan and all the poets were silent. After this the aforesaid youth sprang in front of Senchan, and said : 'Thou hag, thou shalt not approach Senchan ; it

is not meet for thee; but thou shalt address me, for no other of this Cormac's people shall discourse thee.' 'What, then,' said the poetess, 'is the half-<sup>Glossary.</sup> quatrain?' 'Not difficult,' replied he:

*'Do mhuin charrgi móri Manann  
Do rónad or salann sunn.'*

'From the surface of the great rock of Manainn  
Much salt has been made here.'

'And this half-quatrain, also,' she asked, 'what is its [other] half?'

*'Imunn loiscet modé nó prull.'*

'Senchan shall not answer thee, even yet,' replied the youth also. 'Then,' she asked, 'what is it, according to thee?' 'Not difficult,' said he:

*'In cerd mac hui Dulsaine,  
O Liac-Tursige Thull.'*

'The poet, the son of O'Dulsaine,  
From Liac-Tursige Thull.'

"'True, indeed,' said Senchan, 'thou art O'Dulsaine's daughter, the poetess, who is being sought for throughout Erin and Alba.' 'I am, indeed,' said she. She was then taken by Senchan, and noble garments were put upon her. When they reached Erin, they found the aforesaid youth before them, and he was a royal splendid youth. A long eye in his head, gold-yellow locks upon him. He was fairer than the men of the world, both in countenance and raiment. He afterwards walked round Senchan and his people, on the right hand side, and from that time he never appeared. There can be no doubt of his having been the Spirit of Poetry."

Senchan Torpest, here referred to, was chief poet of Ireland when Guaire Aidne was King of Connacht in the seventh century. According to O'Donovan, "the present anecdote was evidently copied by the author of the GLOSSARY from some romantic tale, of which no part except this extract seems to remain. The youth intended to represent the Spirit of Poetry is described as ill-visaged at first, because of the difficulty of the art to a beginner. In reference to the demand for corresponding poetical lines, it was believed among the ancient Irish that a true poet could supply the second lines of any quatrain if he heard the first part repeated. In a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, there is a short account of a poetical contention between St. Columcille and the Devil. The latter attempted to puzzle the former by repeating the first lines of several stanzas and demanding of the Saint to supply the second. The Saint succeeded in every instance, and, in his turn, defeated his antagonist, who could not supply the required second lines of some moral poems, and thus was

\* Line wanting in MS.

Cormac's  
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detected to be the arch enemy of mankind." Materials in illustration of the preceding subjects, as connected with the poets of Ireland in former times, have already been given at page 68 of the present publication.

Gormanston  
Register.

**XXXI.—THE GORMANSTON REGISTER.**—This folio volume, written on vellum, contains transcripts of documents relative to the lands and titles of the De Prestons and the families through which they obtained them in England, Wales, and Ireland. Robert de Preston, Lord of Preston, in Lancashire, held office as Judge and Chancellor in Ireland, under Edward III. and Richard II. By his wife, Margaret, daughter and co-heir of William de Bermingham, he acquired the lordship of Carbury, in Kildare, and in 1363, purchased from Sir Almaric de St. Amand the manor and lands of Gormanstown, in Meath and Dublin. De St. Amand's ancestor, Amand, one of the sponsors of Prince Edward, son of Henry III., had, in 1229, received from the latter a grant of Gormanston. In that document it is described as four carucates of land in Ireland, with their appurtenances, called "le rynn," which sometime had belonged to "Uagormans, Irishmen." The lands, rents, and rights acquired by Sir Robert de Preston, while Judge in Ireland, were, after his death, confirmed by his son Christopher, in consideration of the good services rendered by both of them to Edward III. and Richard II. Christopher Preston was knighted in the field by the Viceroy, Edmund de Mortimer, in 1397, and in the same year the compilation of the GORMANSTON REGISTER, now before us, was commenced for him. In addition to possessions in Lancashire and Wales, the lordship of Carbury and manor of Gormanston, Sir Christopher Preston acquired the barony of the Naas by his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Lord William de Loundres. From these connexions, the title-deeds of Sir Christopher Preston extended back to the period of the first Anglo-Norman settlement in Ireland, as the barons of Naas and Athboy descended from Maurice FitzGerald's son, William. Through various ramifications, the Prestons were part inheritors also to the families of De Laschi, De Joinville, De Verdun, De Bermingham, and Bonevil. The copies of documents derived from those sources give much importance to the GORMANSTON REGISTER, which is still preserved in excellent condition at Gormanston Castle. On Plate XXXI. is reproduced the initial page of this Register, containing the transcript of an indenture between Robert de Preston and Ammary de Saint Amand, senior, in relation to the transfer to the former of the ancient charters, records, and muniments connected with the manor of Gormanston and its appurtenances. This page also contains a portion of an indenture between Ammary de Saint Amand, junior, and Robert de Preston.\*

\* A detailed account of the GORMANSTON REGISTER and its contents, by the Editor of the present work, will be found in the Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1874, pp. 573-84.

## XXXII.—XXXIII.—KING RICHARD II. IN IRELAND, A.D. 1399.—

Richard II.  
in Ireland,  
A.D. 1399.

On these plates are reproduced three pages from an elegantly written and elaborately illustrated contemporary French metrical history of Richard II. On the first plate is a colored drawing in which Richard is represented in the act of conferring knighthood on the Duke of Lancaster's son, afterwards the famous Henry V. of England. The second plate contains a representation of a meeting between Art Mac Murragh, King of Leinster, and Thomas Despencer, Earl of Gloucester. On the third plate the artist has depicted the arrival of ships at Waterford with provisions for the starving army of King Richard. The manuscript is of exceeding elegance; the colored drawings are placed at the heads of the pages and surrounded by golden borders ornamented with foliage.

## XXXIV.—XXXV.—ROLLS OF ANGLO-IRISH SUBSIDIES.—

Few spe- Anglo-  
cimens have survived of documents of the class here presented. The Irish Sub-  
sidies, A.D. 1421.

The first of these rolls contains contemporary transcripts of indentures in relation to subsidies for defence of the liege subjects in Ireland, voted to James, Earl of Ormonde, the King's Lieutenant, at a council held in Dublin on the Friday before the Festival of St. Calixtus, in 1421, the ninth year of Henry V.—from the commons, dean, chapter, and clergy of the county of Wexford, together with the towns of Wexford and Rosse, 19 marks, 12 shillings, and 4 pence; from the county of Kildare, 33 marks, 10 shillings, and 5 pence; and from the county of Tipperary, £8 11s. 4d. These subsidies were to be accounted for, not in the Exchequer, but before auditors appointed by the Earl of Ormonde, assessors being named for the various districts.

On the second Roll (Plate XXXV.) are registered instruments connected with an Anglo-Irish subsidy to Henry V., A.D. 1421. In the Extract given in this plate, James le Botiller, Earl of Ormonde by a writ under his privy signet at Drogheda, in 1421, directs the Deputy of the Chancellor to despatch letters patent for the immediate collection of the subsidy of 10 shillings on every ploughland in Meath, as voted at a meeting of the commons of that liberty held on the previous day, for the purpose of aiding the King of England in his wars. The plate also contains the names of the collectors of the subsidy in Meath, and the warrant from the Earl of Ormonde to the collectors at Duleek, directing them to levy the amounts in that district and to pay them over to him or his receiver. At foot are facsimiles of two orders in French by the Viceroy and Council on petitions relative to lands.

## XXXVI.—ANGLO-IRISH VERSION OF "SECRETA SECRETORUM."—

The Anglo-  
Irish Sub-  
sides, A.D. 1421.

treatise entitled "Secreta Secretorum," erroneously supposed to have been written by Aristotle for Alexander the Great, once enjoyed a high reputation in England. It was annotated by Roger Bacon, illustrated by Walter de Millemete for Edward III., and translated in part by Gower and Lydgate. The present version is of great interest, as the earliest known composition of any length written in English by an Anglo-Irish author. It is the work of James Yonge, who produced it

Anglo-  
Irish  
Version of  
"Secreta  
Secretorum."

under the patronage of James le Botiller, fourth Earl of Ormonde, styled the "White Earl," Viceroy in Ireland to Henry V., A.D. 1419-22. In the opening pages the author writes as follows:—

"In the honour of the hey Trynyte . Ffadyr . Sone and holy gooste almyghti god our lady Seynte Mary and al the holy hollowes of hewyn . To yow nobyll and gracious lorde . Jamys de Botiller Erle of Ormonde lieutenant of our lege lorde . kynge Henry the fyfte in Irland . humbly recommendyth hym your pouer seruant James Yonge to your hey lordshipp . altymes desyryng in cryste yowr honour and profite of body and sowle and wyth almy n herte the trynyte afor sayde beshechyng that he hit euer encrease . Amen . Amen."

"The olde Pryncis of Rome conquerid mor al the worlde by connyng and study of clergeable bokys than by assautes of battaill othyr streynth of pepill and ther for Tully the grette clerke sayth . than wer wel gouernette . Emperies and kyngdomes . Whan Kynges wer Phylosofors and Philosophy regnyd . The whyche thyng noble and gracious lorde afor sayde haith parcewid the sotilte of your witte and the clernys of your engyn . And therfor I chargid some good boke of gouernance of Prynces out of latyn othyr ffrenche in to your modyr Englysh tonge to translate . And for als moche as euer y hame bounde for your gracious kyndly gentilnesse onto your comaundement to obey now y her translate to your souerayne nobilnes the boke of Arystotle Prynce of Phylosofors . of the gouernance of Prynces the whyche boke is callid in Latyn Secreta Secretorum that is to say the Pryuete of Pryueteis . The wych boke he makyd to his dysciple Alexandre the grete Emperour . conquerour of al the worlde." . . .

"Whan Alexandyr hadd rescwid this lettyr . he did Arystotles consaill . Wherfor thay of Perse wer morr obeiaunt to Alexandre than any othyr pepill . and for als moche noble lorde that I desyrynge more outre your appryse . I writte to your Excellence this boke entremedelid wyth many good ensamplis of olde stories . And wyth the four cardynale vertues and dyuers othyr good matturis and olde ensamplis and new."

The work is divided into seventy-two chapters. The author, who tells us he was well acquainted with King Richard II., introduces many observations, by way of monition, addressed to the Earl of Ormonde in reference to himself and his ancestors, and especially adverse to the native Irish. Thus he writes:—

"But victori in battail pryncipal is in God . That shewyth wel the deddis of the nobyll victorius erle syr Jamys yowre graunde syre which in al his tyme lechury hatid . And therfor God in al his time graunted hym mervellous victori up his enemys wyth fewe pepill . namely up the Morthes of whyche he slew huge pepill in the red more of Athy a litil afore the sone goynge downe stondyng the sone mervelosly still till the slaght was done . and no pitte in that more lettynge hors ne man in al

the slaght tyme . and sethyn atte Ascoffy as syr Edwarde Perrers the good knyght can tell how your same graunde syre with few pepill Arthure McMurgho wyth myche pepill to scomfite sette and many hundrets of his men slew."

Anglo-Irish  
Version of  
"Secreta  
Secretorum."

The concluding chapters are devoted to observations on the four seasons of the year, and to the consideration of the principal matters which are either conducive or pernicious to health. The writer assures "his gracious lord" that among the things which make the body fat, moist, and well-disposed, are the following: good meats and drinks, rest, gladness of heart, joyful company, hot meats, good wine and sweet milk, hot drinks made with honey, tender bread of the flour of wheat, cold baths, and the odour of the rose and the violet. It also avails much, he writes, to have riches and glory, victory over enemies, hope and trust in the people under government, delight in honest play, in beholding the running of horses, the skirmishing of young men, the pursuit of beasts in the chase; and, above all, to look upon and devise fair works, to hear and sing delightful songs, to read and study good books, to laugh and play with affectionate, well-beloved people, to solace in harps and divers instruments of music, to have and oftentimes change garments of good and fair cloths of various colors. "These," he adds, "be the things which comfort the heart, and make the body fat, whole, and well-disposed." He concludes with a prayer that the Almighty may "defende our lyge lorde kynge Henry the fyfte and James the Botiller Earl of Ormonde his lyeutenant of Irlande whyche this boke to translate me comaundet and graunt them, grete God, and all their subjectes in the seven vertues grace all tymes to growe."

In our Appendix will be found specimens of the work as well as the titles of the chapters. The book, now in the Bodleian Library, is ornamented with coloured capitals, but many blanks have been left for initial letters, and the style of penmanship is somewhat obscure and complicated.

XXXVII.—DRAWING OF ANGLO-IRISH COURT OF EXCHEQUER.—This is reproduced from the "Red Book" of the Exchequer in Ireland, already noticed. The Exchequer, amongst its other business, received and disbursed the Crown revenues, derived mainly from the royal demesnes, farms of towns, fines, customs, treasure-trove, and casual profits. The computations in this court were made by counters, laid in rows upon the several divisions of the chequered cloth covering the table; square hazel rods, notched in a peculiar manner, and styled "tallies" and "counter tallies," being employed as vouchers. At the top of the sketch reproduced on this plate are represented six persons, apparently officers of the court; to the left are three Judges; at the right, three suitors; and a Sheriff is seated at the bottom. To the right, at the head, is the Crier in the act of adjourning the court, exclaiming, "Ademain." The officer to the left, probably the Second Remembrancer, holds in his hands a parchment, containing the words,

Drawing  
of Anglo-Irish Court  
of Exchequer.

**Drawing of Anglo-Irish Court of Exchequer.** "Preceptum fuit Vice-comiti, per breve hujus Scaccarii." The Chief Remembrancer at his right examines a pen, and holds an Exchequer roll, commencing, "Memorandum quod x<sup>o</sup> die Maij," etc.; while the "Clerk of the Pipe" prepares a writ placed on his left knee, his foot resting upon the table. To the extreme left, the Marshal of the Exchequer addresses the Usher, and holds a document inscribed, "Exiit breve Vice-comiti." One of the three Judges at the side of the table exclaims, "Soient forzez," while another cries, "Voyr dire." On the chequered-covered table, before the Judges, are the "Red Book," a bag with rolls, the counters used for computations, and a document commencing with the words, "Ceo vous," etc. At the bottom is seated a Sheriff, bearing upon his head the leathern cap worn by such officers while undergoing examination in the Exchequer respecting their accounts. Of three suitors, standing at the right of the picture, one, with uplifted hands, says; "Oy de brie;" another, extending his arms, cries, "Chalange"; while the third, with sword at side, laced boots, and ample sleeves, holds the thumb of his left hand between the fore and middle finger of his right, and exclaims, "Soit oughte."\*

At the top of the page which contains this drawing is a partly obliterated transcript in French, headed, "Bone estat[ut]e por le peuple": "Good statute for the people."

**Anglo-Irish version of Cambrensis.**

**XXXVIII.—ANGLO-IRISH VERSION OF CAMBRENSIS' EXPUGNATIO HIBERNICA.**—Of the present copy of this early translation, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, but a few leaves now survive. One of these, reproduced on the present plate, contains a portion of the second book of the "Expugnatio" in relation to the circumstances connected with the death of the Earl Richard, surnamed "Strongbow."

**Memorial from Parliament at Dublin, A.D. 1429.**

**XXXIX.—MEMORIAL FROM PARLIAMENT AT DUBLIN.**—In this memorial, written in English and addressed to Henry VI., A.D. 1429, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons of Parliament at Dublin assembled before the Viceroy, Sir John Sutton, intimate that they have chosen the Chief Justice, Henry Fortescue, and Sir Thomas Strange to deliver to the King the articles here set forth. In these they dwell upon the lack of good government, arising from the want of prompt payment to the Viceroy, frequent change of governors, the false suggestions carried to England against them, the ill-treatment of clerks, merchants, and others while travelling from Chester to Coventry, Oxford and London. They beseech the King to consider the true and notable services rendered by James, Earl of Ormonde, to him, his father, and grandfather, and that the sums long due to him may be paid. They also request that the Viceroy for the time being may be at liberty to bestow on Englishmen vacant benefices in the King's gift, many of which had fallen into the hands of the Irish. They desire also that the King will put a stop to the refusal of the admission of law students to the Inns of Court in England.

\* History of the Viceroys of Ireland. By J. T. Gilbert, F.S.A. London: B. Quaritch, 1865.



**XL.—IRISH ADHERENTS OF THE DUKE OF YORK.**—This curious contemporary “bill,” preserved in the British Museum, contains a list of the Irish and Anglo-Irish who gave in their adherence to the Duke of York on his arrival in Ireland in 1449. It also enumerates those who were knighted by the Duke at “Symondeswode,” in O’Byrne’s country. List of  
Yorkists  
Ireland.

**XLI.—MEMORIAL FROM COUNTY OF KILDARE TO RICHARD, DUKE OF YORK.**—In this document, written at Naas, the 23rd of June, 1454, the chief persons of the county of Kildare declare to “their right hye and myghty prince and right gracious lorde Richard duke of Yorke,” the various circumstances under which they suffer, and in reference to which they write as follows:— Memorial  
from Kil-  
dare, A.D.  
1454.

“We recomaunde vs vnto you as louly as we can or may and please youre gracious Hynes to be aduertised that this lande of Irland was nevyr at the poynt fynaly to be destrued sethen the Conquest of this lande as it is now for the trew liege pople in this parties dar ne may not appear to the kynge oure said souerayn lordes courtes in the said lande ne noon other of the trew leige pople ther to go ne ride to market tounes ne other places for dred to be slayne take other spouled of thar godes also the mysrule and mysgouvernaunce had done and dayly contynued by dyuers gentlemen of the counte and youre libertie of Mith the countes of Kildare and Vriell and namly of a variance had betwix therle of Wiltesshire lieutenant of this said lande and Thomas Fitzmorice of the Geraldynes for the title of the maners of Maynoth and Rathmore in the counte of Kildare hath caused more destruccione in the said counte of Kildare [and] liberte of Mith within short tyme now late passed and dayly doth then was done by Irish enemys and English rebelles of long tyme befor and is likely to be fynall destruccione of the said counte of Kildare and liberte of Mith.”

The original document, with many seals still pendant from it, as shown in the plate, is now preserved in the British Museum.

**XLII.—ANGLO-IRISH PARLIAMENTARY DECLARATION OF RIGHTS,** Parliamentary Declaration, A.D., 1459-60.—In this statute, written in French, the Anglo-Irish Parliament at Dublin in the interest of Richard, Duke of York, declares that, according to ancient prescription, the subjects of the King of England in Ireland are not bound to answer any writs except those under the seal of Ireland; that appeals of treason in Ireland are to be determined solely in the court of the Constable and Marshal of Ireland; that death shall be inflicted on those who groundlessly accuse others of treason there; and that no pardon shall avail in such cases. A.D. 1459-1460.

**XLIII.—LIBER PRIMUS OF THE TOWN OF KILKENNY.**—This is the oldest of the record books of the Corporation of Kilkenny. It consists of eighty-six vellum leaves, with oaken covers. The initial portions, transcribed about 1350, contain acts in French of the commonalty of Kilkenny concerning the election of Sovereigns, Provosts, and Councillors for the town. The book contains copies of ordinances and regulations Liber Primus of Kilkenny.

Liber  
Primus of  
Kilkenny.

for prices of bread and ale ; records of pleas of the Crown ; entries connected with municipal proceedings ; the royal and other charters, statutes, and acts. On the last leaf is a copy of an order of Patrick Archer, Sovereign of Kilkenny, and his Council, A.D. 1499-1500. The page from the "Liber Primus" reproduced on the present plate contains Latin annals of Ireland in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Anglo-  
Irish His-  
tory.

XLIV.—ANGLO-IRISH HISTORY.—This work, preserved in the Bodleian Library, is, to some extent, a version of the "Expugnatio Hibernica" of Cambrensis, and is entitled "Of the Conquest of Ireland by Englishmen." It is written on vellum, and may, with probability, be assigned to James Yonge, already noticed. In the two pages reproduced on the present plate we have a narrative of the proceedings of the Earl Richard Fitz-Gislebert and his associates on the arrival of Henry II. in Ireland.

Great Book  
of Lecan.

XLV.—XLVI.—THE GREAT BOOK OF LECAN, or *Leabhar mór Lecain*, is one of the most important of the surviving volumes of old Gaelic literature. It consists of upwards of six hundred vellum pages, mostly in small compact writing in double columns, and was compiled in the early part of the fifteenth century by Gilla Isa Mac Firbis and others, at Lecan, in the county of Sligo, whence it acquired its name. It contains a large number of miscellaneous pieces in prose and verse. Amongst them is the composition styled *Leabhar na g-ceart*, or the "Book of Rights" a treatise on the privileges and stipends of the native Irish kings and sub-kings. This composition, ascribed to St. Benen or Benignus, a disciple of St. Patrick, was translated by the late John O'Donovan, LL.D. On plate XLV. is reproduced a page from the GREAT BOOK OF LECAN containing portion of the *Leabhar na g-ceart* relative to the privileges and stipends of the Kings of Ulster and Tara. The manuscript is ornamented with many coloured initial letters, specimens of which are given on plate XLVI. The GREAT BOOK OF LECAN in the early part of the seventeenth century was in the hands of Primate James Ussher, with whose collection it passed to Trinity College, Dublin. It was subsequently deposited in the Irish College at Paris, by the heads of which it was presented in 1787 to the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, in whose library it is now preserved.

Gaelic  
Book of  
Mac  
Richard  
Butler.

XLVII.—GAELIC BOOK OF EDMOND MAC RICHARD BUTLER.—Of this once large manuscript, now in the Bodleian Library, only two hundred and ninety-two pages remain. It was compiled and transcribed, A.D. 1453, by John O'Clery and others, in the parish of Kilnamanagh, in the county of Kilkenny, for Edmond Mac Richard Butler, the head of a branch of the Ormonde family, who assumed the Irish chief-name of Mac Richard. From marginal entries on the page reproduced on plate XLVII. we learn that this manuscript was in the possession of Edmond Mac Richard Butler till 1462, when he was defeated in battle by Thomas Earl of Desmond, to whom he was obliged to give, as part of his ransom, this volume, as well as another manuscript, styled the "Book of Carrick.

The present volume was originally styled the "Psalter of Mac Richard Butler." It contains numerous pieces in prose and verse, some of which were transcribed from the following now missing books:—the Psalter of Cashel, the Book of Cong, the Book of Rahen, and the Yellow Book of Ferns. Of the genealogies contained in the "Psalter of Mac Richard" a specimen page is given on plate XLVII.

XLVIII.—LETTER FROM THE ANGLO-IRISH PARLIAMENT. This despatch, written in English, was addressed to King Edward IV., A.D. 1463-4, for the purpose of advertising his Highness "of the full grete and notable seruice" rendered in Ireland by Thomas, Earl of Desmond, Deputy to Clarence, the King's brother. On these points it furnishes many details, and notices the success of Desmond in his contest with that "grete rebel John of Ormond" and his adherents. The Earl of Desmond, on whom these commendations were bestowed, was, four years subsequently, beheaded at Drogheda.

XLIX.—DEED OF JAMES BOTLER AND SABINA CAVANAGH.—This small document, to which the seals are still attached, is of great interest as illustrating the relations between the Irish and the Anglo-Irish. Sir James Botler, one of the parties to it, was son of Mac Richard, whose Gaelic Book has been noticed under No. XLVII. James Botler adhered to the Lancastrians, was pardoned by Edward IV., and appointed Deputy in Ireland by his kinsman, John, the absentee Earl of Ormonde. He reformed the government of the town of Carrick, built a castle near Gowran, and obtained influence among the native Irish of Leinster by his marriage with Sabina or *Sadhbh* Cavanagh, who was also a party to the present deed, and daughter of Donald Mac Murragh, of the ancient regal family of Leinster. As she was of the native Irish beyond "the Pale," an Act of the colonial parliament had to be obtained to entitle her to rights under English law, and her third son, Sir Piers Butler, became Earl of Ormonde in A.D. 1515. Sir James Botler died in the castle of Knocktopher in 1486, and was buried in the priory which he had founded at Callan. In his will he styled himself, after the Irish fashion, "Chief Captain of his nation."

L.—THE "BLACK BOOK OF LIMERICK," a vellum manuscript transcribed towards the close of the fifteenth century, contains copies of documents chiefly connected with the property of the See of Limerick. On the present plate is represented one of its most interesting pages. This contains portion of a transcript of return made, A.D. 1201, by a jury, composed of twelve Englishmen, twelve Ostmen, and twelve Irishmen, appointed to hold enquiry in relation to the lands and churches of the See of Limerick. The "Black Book of Limerick" is now preserved in the Library of Maynooth College.

LI.—THE "WHITE BOOK" OF CHRIST CHURCH, DUBLIN, containing copies of documents connected with that cathedral and its properties, was compiled by Thomas Fyche, Canon Regular and Sub-Prior of that house, who died A.D. 1517. Several persons of the name of Fyche

White  
Book of  
Christ  
Church,  
Dublin.

were also connected with this Cathedral, and Jeffrey Fyche was Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, in the early part of the sixteenth century. The page from the "White Book" of Christ Church represented on this plate contains portion of a catalogue of the Archbishops of Dublin.

Letter from  
Earl of  
Desmond.

LII.—LETTER FROM MAURICE, EARL OF DESMOND, AND OTHERS TO KING HENRY VII.—In this letter the Earl of Desmond, with Piers Butler, Deputy of the Earl of Ormonde, Maurice, Lord Roche, and James, Lord Courcy, entreat King Henry not to require the Earl of Kildare to attend on him in England, as they allege that the English interest in Ireland would be severely prejudiced by his absence. The letter is dated from Limerick, and the writers bind themselves that their good Lord, the Earl of Kildare, shall be the King's true faithful subject and liege man.

Poynings'  
Act.

LIII.—POYNINGS' ACT.—On this plate is reproduced, from the contemporary Statute Roll, the Act of 1494, known as Poynings' law. This brief enactment effectually limited the power of the Parliament in Ireland, and the repeal of it was only effected after a lapse of nearly three centuries. In our Appendix will be found the statutes enacted by the first Parliament held in Ireland under Poynings' law in A.D. 1498. These statutes were supposed to have been lost, and an Act of Parliament embodying that statement was passed in 1542. I was, however, fortunate enough to discover a copy of them in England, in their original form, as officially transmitted thence to Ireland, and their publication now for the first time supplies much new and valuable matter.

Anglo-  
Irish  
Annals.

LIV.—ANGLO-IRISH ANNALS.—This small volume, transcribed towards the close of the fifteenth century, contains annals in Latin from A.D. 1162 to A.D. 1370. Two pages are represented on the present plate. From an inscription on the back of page 41, the book appears to have been for some time in the possession of William Preston, Viscount Gormanstown, who commanded one of the wings of the bowmen at the Battle of Cnoc Tuagh in 1504. It seems to be the volume which the learned William Camden referred to as having been lent to him by Lord William Howard of Naworth. In 1636, as we learn from an entry on the fly-leaf, it belonged to William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and it is now preserved in the Bodleian Library.

Wardrobe  
Warrants.

LV.—LVI.—WARDROBE WARRANTS, A.D. 1498.—By these documents Henry VII. directs the "Keeper of his Great Wardrobe" to deliver for the use of the son and heir of the King's cousin, the Earl of Kildare, certain quantities of black velvet, tawney medley for a gown with white fur, and doublets of black velvet, with hose of tawny and crimson; a hat and two bonnets, one of crimson and one of black, with silk ribands for girdles, as well as bits and spurs and other articles. The warrants were given under the King's hand and signet at Greenwich, and are now in the possession of the Duke of Leinster.

The Book  
of Lismore.

LVII.—THE BOOK OF LISMORE.—This manuscript, of which a portion only now remains, is in Gaelic, finely written on vellum of very large

size. It was compiled in Munster, towards the close of the fifteenth century, by Aonghus O'Callaidh for Finghin MacCarthy, head of the tribe of MacCarthy Reagh, whose wife was Catherine, daughter of Thomas, eighth Earl of Desmond. An entry on one of the pages of the manuscript requests a blessing on the "souls of the couple for whom it was written." The volume received its present name from having been found in a cavity of the wall in the interior of the Castle of Lismore, in 1814, in the progress of works executed there under direction of its owner, the Duke of Devonshire. The surviving part of the manuscript contains lives of saints, historical tales, translations from Latin originals, and numerous pieces in prose and verse. Of the original Irish compositions in it, one of the most curious is that styled "*Cathréim Ceallachain Caisil*," or the history of the wars of Ceallachan or Callaghan of Cashel, King of Munster in the tenth century. The first page of this is reproduced on plate LVII. The story of Callaghan commences with a catalogue of the princes who ruled in Munster, and details their sufferings under the Norsemen, and their contests until he emancipated them, subsequently to his election to the kingship of Munster. Among the translations in the Book of Lismore from foreign pieces is an old Gaelic version of the work of Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller of the thirteenth century. Some leaves of this version are missing, and of those which remain two have been given in our Appendix, with the assistance of Mr. Joseph O'Longan, who has made many transcripts from the Book of Lismore. Colonel Henry Yule, the able editor of the *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, considers this Gaelic version to have been based on the Latin of Friar Francesco Pipino.

LVIII.—GAELIC LAW TREATISE.—On this plate is reproduced a page from a small-sized manuscript of Irish laws in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. The volume, transcribed about A.D. 1500, contains treatises on the laws of tenure, stocks, and rents. The English version is from that adopted by the Commission on the Ancient Laws of Ireland. Gaelic Law Treatise.

LIX.—LATIN AND GAELIC VOCABULARY.—In this compilation, which consists of a few vellum pages, the transcriber has arranged the Latin words in the order of their declensions, and, in general, added to each its equivalent in Gaelic. The writing is all in the Irish character, in columns, and the page on plate LIX. contains lists of nouns of the third declension, with proper names of men, women, towns, etc. The Vocabulary was edited, in 1860, by Dr. W. Stokes, under the title of "Irish Glosses." Latin and Gaelic Vocabulary.

LX:—THE "RED BOOK" OF THE EARLS OF KILDARE is written on vellum of small folio size, and was compiled in 1503 for Gerald, eighth Earl of Kildare, by Philip Flattisbury. It contains copies of grants, surveys, and other documents connected with the house of Kildare. The earliest of these is that on the initial page, which is reproduced on the present plate. It is a transcript of a charter by which Prince John, circa A.D. 1180, confirmed to Gerald, son of Maurice FitzGerald, and his heirs, lands Kildare Red Book.

**Kildare Red Book.** in Leinster and Munster, some of which had belonged to his brother Alexander FitzGerald, of whom he was the heir. At foot of this page is a brief exposition of the old legal terms in the charter.

This book is specially mentioned as follows, in a letter written in 1546 by Robert Cowley, Clerk of the Crown at Dublin, to Thomas Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, in England, after Lord Thomas Fitzgerald had been imprisoned in the Tower of London :—

“My humble duety premysed to your honourable Lordship. It may please the same to bee advertised that divers profitable landes, which therll of Kildare had, beeing now accrued unto the Kynges Highnes, bee embeselyd from the King by meanes that the said Erles evidences can not be founde. The said Erle had a faire boke in parchemynt written by oon Philip Flattisbury, as a register of all the dedys and evidences apperteynyng to the said Erles inherytance in Ireland. Wherefore it might please your wisdome, to examen Thomas FitzGerald where that boke registrall is, to the ende it may come to Maister Thesaurer to shew hym the certaintie whereby he may approve the Kynges revenue.”

The “Red Book,” which is in an excellent condition, is now in the possession of the Duke of Leinster.

**Gaelic Covenant.**

**LXI.—GAELIC COVENANT BETWEEN GERALD, EIGHTH EARL OF KILDARE, AND MACGEOGHEGAN.**—In this instrument, executed circa A.D. 1510, are set forth the terms on which Gerald, Earl of Kildare, undertook to defend the lands of Coill Tobuir in Meath for the sept of MacGeoghegan against the O'Conors. The document is of small size, written on vellum, and is now preserved in the British Museum.

**Letter from Earl of Kildare.**

**LXII.—LETTER FROM GERALD, NINTH EARL OF KILDARE.**—In this fine specimen of caligraphy, written at Dublin, on the first day of December, 1515, the Earl of Kildare addresses King Henry VIII. in reference to the controversy between Sir Piers Butler and Dame Anne St. Leger and Dame Margaret Bulleyn, who, as heirs general to Thomas, late Earl of Ormonde, claimed various manors and lands.

**Library of Earl of Kildare.**

**LXIII.—CATALOGUE OF BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF GERALD, EARL OF KILDARE, A.D. 1526.**—The page here presented with others in Appendix IX., is from a large manuscript now preserved in the British Museum, styled “The Earl of Kildare’s Rental Book,” which was commenced in 1518 for Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare. After the death of this Earl in the Tower of London, the book was sought for by the Ministers of the Crown in Ireland, and, in reference to it, the Treasurer, Sir William Brabazon, wrote to the Lord Privy Seal :—“I am enformed my Ladie of Kildare hath a booke of the landes latelie therle of Kildare’s. If she have any suche, it were requisite your Maistership had the same to thentent it might be sent hether.” In the catalogue the books were divided into English, French, Latin, and Irish. The Latin books were Virgil, Juvenal, Terence, Boetius De Consolatione, Cæsar, Laurentius, Valla, the Commentaries of Hugo de Vienna, the works of St. Anthony and St. Gregory, the “Summa Angelica,” More’s Utopia, and the Topographia of Cam-

brencis. The foreign books included *Lancelot du Lac*, *Ogier le Danois*, Library of Earl of Kildare. the *Chronicles of France*, the *Triumphs of Petrarch*, the *Romance of the Rose*, *Mandeville*, *Horace*, *Titus Livius*, *Cæsar*, *Josephus*, *St Augustine*, *Le Triump des Dames*, and a book of farces. Among the English books were *Arthur*, the *Polychronicon*, *Boccaccio*, *Chronicles of England*, *Christine of Pisa*, *Gesta Romanorum*, the *Æneid*, the *Sieges of Thebes*, *Troy*, *Rhodes*, and *Jerusalem*, *Charlemagne*, *Troilus*, the *Order of the Garter*, *Cambrensis*, *Littleton's Tenures*, and *Sir Thomas More's "booke agaynst the new opinions that hold agaynst pilgremage."* Among the Irish books were the *Psalter of Cashel*, the *Lives of St. Fechin* and *St. Finnian*, the *Acts of Cuchulainn*, and the history of the "Children of Lir."

LXIV.—GAELIC COVENANT OF GERALD, EARL OF KILDARE.—This Gaelic Covenant, A.D. 1530. instrument, written in Gaelic and executed in A.D. 1530, is an agreement between Gerald, Earl of Kildare, and the sept of MacRannall. The latter were to pay to the Earl yearly the sum of one shilling per quarter for all the land which owed rent or chiefry to O'Rourke or MacRannall, and, in consideration of this, the Earl guaranteed to protect and defend them against his own retainers and dependants. The agreement was concluded on the 5th of November, 1530, at Maynooth, and, by direction of MacRaunall, authenticated with the seal of the College of Maynooth. That establishment, which had but a brief existence, was founded and endowed by the Earl of Kildare, under royal letters patent, in 1515.\* It is to be regretted that the seal of the College has long since disappeared from the present document, which is the property of the Duke of Leinster. Some interesting details in connexion with this covenant were communicated, in 1869, to the Royal Irish Academy by the Very Rev. C. W. Russell, President of the present College of Maynooth.

LXV.—LETTER FROM JOHN ALAN, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.—In this Letter from Archbishop Alan. letter, written to Thomas Cromwell from Dublin, in March, 1531–2, John Alan, the Archbishop of that See, expresses his hope that the King's Highness will grant him such assistance as will enable him to keep a "competent house and convenient servants, as his expenses have so sore grated upon his little substance, that he cannot live with worship or pay his debts with honesty." The Archbishop intimates his intention that so soon as he is out of half his debt he will send to Cromwell one hobby, one hawk, and one Limerick mantle, which three things, he adds, "be all the commodities for a gentleman's pleasure in these parts." Three years subsequently to this letter, Archbishop Alan was killed near Dublin, at the commencement of the revolt of Lord Thomas FitzGerald in 1534. His autograph additions to the ancient Dublin archiepiscopal register styled "Crede Mihi" have been already noticed in the second part of the present work.

LXVI.—LXVII.—LIFE OF SAINT COLUMBA.—This large and finely O'Donel's Life of St. Columba. written Gaelic manuscript in Imperial folio, on vellum, was compiled, A.D. 1532, for Manus O'Donel, Lord of Tirconnell or Donegal, in

\* A copy of these hitherto unpublished letters patent is preserved in the "Red Book" of the Earls of Kildare, in the possession of the Duke of Leinster.

O'Donel's  
Life of St.  
Columba.

Ulster, and head of the clan to which St. Columba had belonged. On plate LXVI. is reproduced from this volume a full-length colored figure of St. Columba, first Abbot of Iona. He is represented as standing mitred, holding a crozier in his left hand, and with his right giving the benediction in the Latin form. The thumb, index, and middle finger are extended, to signify the Trinity, while the other two fingers are closed, to represent the union of the two natures in the person of Christ. The head of the crozier represents that of a dragon, and the opposite end terminates in a spear. Of the first leaf of this manuscript one-half was left blank, to be filled with an ornamental initial letter. In the second page, represented on plate LXVII., we are given the following particulars in reference to the materials from which the work was compiled:—  
 “Be it known to the readers of this biography, that it was lost for a long while, and that there was not to be found but a fragment of the book which holy Adamnan compiled of it in Latin, and another small portion in Gaelic, compiled by the Gaelic poets in a very difficult dialect; and the remainder in legends, scattered throughout the old books of Erin. And it is my opinion that the following was the cause of this; When foreign Danes came at first to make a conquest in Erin, they destroyed and burned all the chief churches of Erin, and they destroyed her shrines and writings, and they carried off quantities of the relics of her saints to their own country, as it is recorded in the old historical books of Erin; and particularly as it is told in the old book which is named ‘The war of the Gaill with the Gaels.’ And they burned and destroyed the chief churches of Colum Cille in particular. And I am certain that it was at that time they destroyed and burned his books, and that his biography was lost, excepting the little of it that has been collected to be written here. Be it known to the readers of this Life, that it was Manus, the son of Hugh, son of Hugh Roe, son of Niall Garbh, son of Turlogh O'Donel, of the wine, that ordered the part of this Life which was in Latin to be put into Gaelic; and who ordered the part that was in difficult Gaelic to be modified, so that it might be clear and comprehensible to every one. And he gathered and collected the parts of it that were scattered through the old books of Erin, and he dictated it out of his own mouth with great labour, and at great expenditure of time in studying how he should arrange all the parts of it in their places, as they are written here. And [this was done by him] in love and friendship for his illustrious Saint, relative, and Patron, to whom he was devoutly attached. It was in the Castle of Port-na-tri-namad [Lifford, county Donegal] this life was indited, when had been fulfilled twelve years and twenty and five hundred and a thousand of the age of the Lord.”\*

\* A brief Latin epitome of this Life was published in 1647, by John Colgan, the learned Franciscan hagiographer, who had access at Louvain to a copy of the original, now in the possession of the Irish branch of the Franciscan Order. See Report by J. T. Gilbert, F.S.A., on “The Manuscripts of the former College of Irish Franciscans, at Louvain,” in the Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. London; Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1874, pp. 599–613.



O'Donel, in 1541, entered into an indenture with the Viceroy, Sir Antony Sentleger, who, in a letter to Henry VIII., observed of him, O'Donel's Life of St. Columba. "At suche tyme as he mette with me, he was in a cote of crymoisin velvet, with agglettes of gold 20 or 30 payer; over that a greate doble cloke of right crymoisin saten, garded with blacke velvet, a bonette, with a fether sette full of agglettes of gold." The death of O'Donel, in 1564, is recorded as follows by the Donegal Annalists:—

"O'Donel (Manus, the son of Hugh Dubh, son of Hugh Roe, son of Niall Garbh, son of Turlogh of the wine), Lord of Tircconnel, Inishowen, Cinel-Moen, Fermanagh, and Lower Connacht; a man who never suffered the Chiefs who were in his neighbourhood and vicinity to encroach upon any of his superabundant possessions, even to the time of his disease and infirmity; a fierce, obdurate, wrathful, and combative man towards his enemies and opponents, until he had made them obedient to his jurisdiction; and a mild, friendly, benign, amicable, bountiful, and hospitable man towards the learned, the destitute, the poets, and the ollamhs, towards the [religious] orders and the church, as is evident from the [accounts of] old people and historians; a learned man, skilled in many arts, gifted with profound intellect, and the knowledge of every science; died on the ninth of February, at his own mansion-seat at Lifford, a castle which he had erected in despite of O'Neill and the O'Neill clan, and was interred in the burial place of his predecessors, and ancestors at Donegal, in the monastery of St. Francis, with great honour and veneration, after having vanquished the Devil and the world."

LXVIII.—LETTERS OF LORD THOMAS FITZGERALD, STYLED "SILKEN THOMAS."—The first of these undated letters was addressed, in August, 1535, to Lord Leonard Gray, Viceroy of Ireland. In it Lord Thomas FitzGerald, whose revolt had continued from June in the preceding year, desired Lord Gray to be his intercessor with the King that he might have pardon for life and lands. In the second letter, written in the Tower of London, in 1536, to his "trusty servant," John Rothe, Lord Thomas complains that he would have been left almost destitute but for the kindness of some of his fellow-prisoners. Lord Thomas FitzGerald, with his five uncles, was executed at London in February, 1536-7. Letters of Lord Thomas FitzGerald.

LXIX.—SURRENDER OF PRIORY OF ALL HALLOWS, DUBLIN.—By this instrument, dated 16th November, 1538, Walter Hancoke and the community of All Hallows, near Dublin, voluntarily surrendered that house to Henry VIII., with its possessions, evidences, properties of all kinds, and lands in various parts of Ireland. The document bears the signature of the last Prior. It is preserved among the Archives of the Municipal Corporation of the city of Dublin. Part of the site of the monastery of All Hallows is now occupied by Trinity College, Dublin. Priory of All Hallows, Dublin.

LXX.—ROLL OF PARLIAMENT AT DUBLIN.—On this document are entered the names of ecclesiastical and lay peers who were present at Roll of Parliament at Dublin.

Roll of  
Parliament  
at Dublin.

the Parliament held in Dublin, A.D. 1541. They include the four Archbishops, nineteen Bishops, the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond, with several lords of minor rank.

Letter of  
Viceroy  
and Coun-  
cil, A.D.  
1541.

**LXXI.—LXXIII.—LETTER OF VICEROY AND COUNCIL IN IRELAND.**

—In this letter, dated from Dublin in 1541, the Viceroy, Sir Antony St. Leger, and the Council address their “most dread sovereign Lord” in reference to the proceedings in the Parliament recently held at Dublin connected with the enactment of a statute conferring the title of King of Ireland on the King of England and his heirs. The letter supplies details on this and other matters. It also mentions that a speech delivered by the Earl of Ormonde in Irish “much contented the Lords and Commons.” The writers add, that although several of the Irish lords willingly gave their consent to the Act for the kingship of Ireland, that transaction was not participated in by the head of the clan of O'Neill; “and,” they observe, “we cannot perceive that ever he will come to any honest conformity, but judge him to be the only gall and poison in this your realm.”

Henry  
VIII.  
created  
King of  
Ireland.

**LXXIV.—ACT OF PARLIAMENT FOR HENRY VIII. AND HIS SUCCESSORS TO BE KINGS OF IRELAND.**—On this plate is reproduced from the statute roll the contemporary copy of the Act of Parliament, referred to in the preceding letter, constituting the King of England King of Ireland. Henry wrote as follows on this subject in April, 1542, to his Lord Deputy and Council in Ireland:—“You shal undrestande, that We have inserted the name and title of King of Irland into our stile, and placed it in suche sorte as followeth: ‘Henricus Octavus, Dei Gratia, Anglie, Francie, et Hibernie Rex, Fidei Defensor, et in terra Ecclesie Anglicane et Hibernice Supremum Caput. Henry thEight, by the Grace of God, King of Englande, Fraunce, and Irland, Defendor of the Fayth, and of the Church of Englande, and also of Irland, in earth the Supreme Hed.’”

Complaint  
from  
Tipperary,  
A.D. 1542.

**LXXV.—COMPLAINT OF THE GENTLEMEN, INHERITORS, AND FREE-HOLDERS OF THE COUNTY OF TIPPERARY TO HENRY VIII.**—This document, finely written, in 1542, on parchment of the largest size and with the original seals pendant from it, is preserved among the Ormonde Archives in Kilkenny Castle. It contains details of the “inordinate” exactions and taxes levied from the complainants by Sir Thomas Butler as representative of the Earl of Ormonde. These, they state, originated in the days of Henry VI., when James, the “White Earl” of Ormonde, Lord of the Liberties of Tipperary, left Ireland to serve the King in England, and committed the government of the county in his absence to “sundry persons his kinsfolks.” Some of their grievances they enumerate as follows:—

“First the said Syr Thomas takith of every freholder coddies at Christmas and Ester or certain sommes of money in liewe thereof at his pleasyr. He sessith them dailly with the kepers of his hounds and stooedes and withe hount and hounds of dyvers kyndes. He sessithe dailly your said

complaynaunts with all manner kynde of coyne and lyveray for horsmen Complaint  
 horsres and horskepers at his will and pleasyr. He sessith theme from  
 with suche personnes as he commaundith nedeles to kepe garisons and Tipperary,  
 castells within the said countie that is to say with the chardge of viij. in A.D. 1542.  
 the Reghill. viij in Graciscastell. xij in the Cahir and iiij in Arcollun.  
 the like wherof neither therle of Ormounde ne noon other of your graces  
 obedient subiects doo use. He sessithe theme dailly with the chardges  
 of all manner kynd of labourers for the buylding and repairing of his  
 castells houses mylls making of hedges and ditches abouts his gardeyns  
 and orcheyards and other inclosours at his will and pleasyr whiche noo  
 man useth but whan the same is grauntid by the consent of all the  
 cuntrey for helpe to suche buylding of ffortresses of passadges to be  
 stopped and other like as be for a comon welthe and noon otherwise.  
 He levieth and takithe of theme at every Christmas vj<sup>n</sup> xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> for  
 the payment of suche wyne as he providethe for his house against the  
 said feast. He sessithe them with the cariage aswell of all stoones  
 tymbre and other necessaries to any worke he hath as also of all such  
 corne, wyne, pailles of butter, and of all other things that he woll have  
 caried for the necessitie or provision of his house or houses. He takithe  
 towards the mariage of every of his daughters a shepe of every flocke  
 and a cowe of every lx kyne, he levieth in every carrue of lande comenly  
 callid collupp within the cantrede of Clonmell a bushell of otes, callid  
 sommer otes. He sessith them with a certain retynue callid kernetye  
 to the number of xxv contynually upon that portion callid the cantrede  
 of Clonmell. Whiche retynue or kernetye were never graunted unto any  
 his auncestours but oonly to therles of Ormounde for the ministration  
 of justice and executing of suche processe as shulde be by the Seneschall  
 and other thofficers of the libertie adwarded from tyme to tyme. He  
 sessith them also with xij seriaunts for the levying and taking of gages  
 for these extortions to every of the whiche seriaunts they are chargid to  
 give offryngs twys a yere where of olde therle of Ormounde usid to have  
 but two seriaunts only for the ministration and executing of justice as  
 is aforsaid to whom they do grant the same and to noo manels."

The complaint is followed by a statement that representatives of the gentlemen, freeholders, inheritors, and inhabitants of the county of Tipperary appeared in the city of Waterford before the Mayor and Bishop and the Archbishop of Cashel, who at their request append their signatures and seals to the document, to be exhibited to the King.

LXXVI.—MUSTER-ROLL OF IRISH KERNE.—This unique document, Roll of Irish  
 preserved among the State Papers, gives the names of the captains and Kerne,  
 men of the troops of kerne, or native foot-soldiers, who, on the requisition A.D. 1544.  
 of Henry VIII., were despatched from Ireland in 1544 to aid in his  
 military operations in France. The King, through his Viceroy and  
 Council, applied to each of the chief Irish lords to furnish him, for this  
 object, with one hundred kerne. On this roll are entered the particulars  
 of those thus levied by the Earls of Ormonde, Desmond, and Tyrone,

Roll of  
Irish Kerne  
A.D. 1544.

the Barons of Delvin, Slane, Cahir, Lord Power, O'Reilly, Mac Robert, O'Connor, O'Byrne, Mac Gennis, Mac Art, Mac Geoghegan, Sir Thomas Cusack, and the borderers of Meath, with those of Uriel, or Louth, and Annaly or Longford. The Lord Justice and Council, in May, 1544, wrote as follows to the King in reference to those troops :

"ThErle of Ormondes and Desmondes kerne, and suche others as furnisshed holle hundredes, haue ther capitaynes and petycapitaynes ready appoynted ; but ther be others, whiche furnysshed but small numbers, haue sent capitaynes with every of them, for whome they wolde peradventure looke to haue enterteynement as capitaynes ; wherins we shulde haue discooraged them, whereby some of them perchaunce, wolde haue absented themselves, we sayde nothing to the contrary, seying they entered not into wages here, so as they may be joyned into numbers ther ; and yet it moght please Your Majestie that those gentilmen, though they haue not full numbers, may be entertayned, as bothe they and their maisters shall not judge themselves disparaged.

"Furder, where upon the receipte of Your Majesties furste lettres for this purpose, we advertised Your Highnes, that the kerne made straunge to go, bycause ther was no noble man of this Realme, to whome they moght truste for ther relieffe in ther necessities, appoynted to conducte them ; Your Highnes, by your other lettres, willed us to appointe suche oone of the noble men, that Your Majestie did wryte to for provysion of kerne, as we shulde thinke mete, to have the conducte of the holle number. And upon consultation, considering that none of the Yrishe Lordes wer mete for that purpose, ne yet convenyent to sende any of thErles, or others of the nobilitie of thEnglishery, beyng onweldy men for to go with light kerne, fynally we had no choise, but either the Lorde of Dunboyne, or the Lorde Power ; and accordingly haue appoynted the saide Lorde Power, whiche ys a towarde, and an hardy yong gentleman, beyng very desyrous to serve Your Highnes, to have the generall conducte of them all, under your Majestie, or such other as yt shall please your Grace to appoynte. We have lymyted to hym no enterteynement, but referred him to Your Majesties most gracious order and lyberalyte. It may furder please Your Majestie, that within this Realme every two kerne use to have a page or boye, whiche commonly ys nevertheless a man, to beare ther mantelles, weapons, and vycailles for 2, 3, or 4 dayes, when they goo in a volant journey ; for whome, and other shares of the marshalles, pypers, surgions, and suche like, accordinge ther usage, they receyve lyke enterteynement as for themselves : yet, contrary ther saide usage, because we thinke that in Your Majesties standing warres they shalbe otherwise provided for, then thei can be here, we have willed them to have for every foure kerne but a page or boye ; so as eight hundreth kerne have 200 boies, whiche here is accompted by the name, and in interteynement, of 1,000 kerne. Notwithstanding, for that we judge as well Your Majesties intendement to be to have a thowsande kerne of fightyng men, besides ther boies, as also if theis

Yrishe Lordes, after this furste shipping, shulde sende suche number unto us, as wolde make up the full thousande of fighting men, or more, we woll transporte them thider, not onely to furnishe Your Majestie, but also les, if we shulde retourne them, we be in doubte how ther maisters, being but new reconcyled men, would take the mattier. And havynge, by ther defaultes, furnisshed from among your mere subjectes, foure or fyve hundreth of thois that wer not furste appointed, ne looked for, we judge no evill polycie to sende as many of thers as we can, so as, if any ruffell shulde chaunce, we be discharged of so many. Nevertheles, we moste humbly beseche Your Majestie, that they all may be gentilly entertayned; and asmoche as honestly may be preserved and incoraged to serve, les[t] ther maisters wolde aswell conceyve grudge towards us, that must serve Your Majestie here, having with great labour procured ther going, as discourage them, and others, to sende men agayne, if any like occasion shulde chaunce: assuring Your Highnes, that theis men used in ther feate be very tall men, but they must be trayned in some payne and parcite, elles thei woll shortely lease ther feate. No doubte they wolbe easely trayned to be good gonners, wherunto thei be very apte; and so being, thei woll doo Your Grace high service: many of them be gonners, though thei have no gonnes, wherof ther ys no provision here."

Roll of  
Irish Kerne  
A.D. 1544.

These troops rendered much service to Henry VIII. in France, especially at the siege of Boulogne, and in connexion with them the following is narrated by an English chronicler:

"After that Bullongne was surrendred to the King, there incamped on the west side of the towne beyond the haven an armie of Frenchmen, amongst whome there was a Thrasonicall Golias that departed from the armie, and came to the brinke of the haven, and there in ietting and daring wise chalenged anie one of the English armie that durst be so hardie, as to bicker with him hand to hand. And albeit the distance of the place, the depth of the haven, the neernesse of his companie imboldened him to this chalenge, more than any great valour or pith that rested in him to indure a combat; yet all this notwithstanding, an Irishman named Nicholl Welsh who after reteined to the Earle of Kildare, loathing and disdainning his proud braggs, flung into the water and swam over the river, fought with the challenger, strake him for dead, and returned back to Bullongne with the Frenchman his head in his mouth, before the armie could overtake him. For which exploit, as he was of all his companie highlie commended, so by the Lieutenant he was bountifullie rewarded."

The contents of this hitherto unpublished muster-roll, the completion of which will be found in our Appendix X., are of more than local interest, as indicating the forms and orthography of Irish and Anglo-Irish names in the early part of the sixteenth century.

LXXVII.—THE BOOK OF SEANADH MIC MANUS.—This volume of Annals in Gaelic received its name from having been compiled in the

Book of  
Seanadh  
Mic Manus.

Book of  
Seanadh  
Mic Manus.

island called Seanadh in Upper Loch Erne, county Fermanagh, in modern times named Belle Isle. The original compiler was Cathal or Charles Maguire, a learned and benevolent ecclesiastic connected with Armagh in the fifteenth century. The page represented on the present plate contains annals of A.D. 1497 and 1498. Under the latter year is recorded the death of Maguire, who "gathered and collected the materials for this volume from many other books." He is stated to have been skilled in law, divinity, physic, philosophy, and all the Gaelic sciences, and "the person to whom the learned and the poor and the destitute of Ireland were most thankful." The BOOK OF SEANADH MIC MANUS was extensively used early in the seventeenth century in the compilation of the Annals of Ireland by the "Four Masters," who incorporated a great part of it in their work. It was for a time styled "*Annales Senatenses*," and the name of "*Annals of Ulster*" was subsequently given to the book, apparently from the many entries which it contains in relation to that province.

The copy from which our "Facsimile" is taken is preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Several of its leaves are missing, but another somewhat larger copy, much resembling it in style of writing, is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. An old English version of a considerable portion of these Annals is extant in the British Museum. The Irish text to A.D. 1131, with a Latin translation by the Reverend Charles O'Connor, was printed in 1826. Many extracts from the "*Annals of Ulster*" were given by the late John O'Donovan, LL.D. in the annotations to his edition of the "*Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*," published in 1848-51.

In concluding the third portion of the present arduous undertaking, I desire to thank the Dukes of Devonshire and Leinster, the Marquis of Ormonde, and Viscount Gormanston, for the facilities which they afforded me in connexion with their manuscripts.

I have also to acknowledge my obligations to the Right Hon. Edward Sullivan, Master of the Rolls, Keeper of the Public Records, in Ireland, for the active interest he has continued to take in the progress of this work.

JOHN T. GILBERT.

VILLA NOVA,  
BLACKROCK,  
DUBLIN, *2nd May*, 1879.

TABLE OF THE MANUSCRIPTS REPRESENTED  
IN FACSIMILE.

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PART III.

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- II. Earliest Roll of English Chancery in Ireland.—Public Record Office, Dublin.  
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- III. Memorandum on Records destroyed by fire, at Dublin, A.D. 1304.—Public Record Office, Dublin.
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—Archives of Municipal Corporation of Dublin :  
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- XIII. Passport from Thomas Fitz-John, second Earl of Kildare,  
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- XV. Grant of Regalities and Palatinate of Tipperary to James  
le Botiller, first Earl of Ormonde, A.D. 1337.—  
Ormonde Archives, Kilkenny Castle.
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